

**CHURCH AND LANDSCAPE:
A STUDY IN SOCIAL TRANSITION
IN SOUTH-WESTERN BRITAIN,
A.D. *c.*400 TO *c.*1200**

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores aspects of the transitions from post-Roman British to Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman society in south-western Britain in the period c.400 to c.1200. It uses a multidisciplinary approach that focuses mainly on Exeter and a surrounding 'hinterland area' in Devon, and it also considers whether the models associated with the 'minster hypothesis' can contribute to our understanding of the area's history during this period. Four case studies are presented that examine the surviving evidence within the framework of 'conceptual boundaries' fossilised by ecclesiastical parishes; these suggest that a 'mother church system' comprising large 'original parishes' existed in the Exeter area in the late Anglo-Saxon period, although its origins remain uncertain. A possible context is explored through a re-evaluation of the evidence for local continuity of population and landscape occupation throughout the period, which provides the basis for a reinterpretation of the political and cultural metamorphoses by which the eastern part of British Dumnonia became Anglo-Saxon Devon and an exemplification of the process by which the Primitive Cornish language and toponymy of the Exeter area were replaced by Old English. The thesis concludes with a discussion of evidential and methodological problems that need to be addressed before further progress can be made.

c.95,000 words

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Duncan Probert

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CORRIGENDA

Between the University of Birmingham's acceptance of his thesis in 2002 and his death in 2016 Duncan Probert compiled a list of corrections and improvements. These are given below, with revisions and/or additional material presented in red text.

Acknowledgements

Among friends and colleagues from elsewhere I should mention Charlie Insley, Martin Grimmer, Peter Kitson ... [p.iv]

Text on p.50 and in note 90

Finally, it is worth noting that late eleventh- and early twelfth-century additions to the *Leofric Missal* and the *Exeter Book* record ...

90. Thorpe, 1865, pp.632, 634, 636-7; Earle, 1888, pp.253, 256-7, 262-4; Förster, 1933b, pp.51 nos.22-3, 52 no.27 (but cf. p.146 note 254 below); Anderson, 1939, pp.74-5; Pelteret, 1990, pp.100ff nos.96, 108-9, 113, 123, 137, 140; Conner, 1993, p.19.

Note 20 on p.68

20. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii, §134.6 ... but recent work has concluded that William did indeed have access to an earlier source of this type: Thomson & Winterbottom, 1999, pp.116-18 (see also Wood, 1983, pp. 265-6; Wormald, 1999a, pp.138 n83, 382 n529; Campbell, 2000, p.138) ...

Text on pp.70-71 and in note 29 on p.71

It is notable that the Welsh 'sub-kings' Hywel and Idwal witnessed charters issued at all three meetings; it may also be significant that bishop Conan was present in November 931 but was not among the fourteen bishops present at Easter 928.

29. For Easter 928, see S 400 ... The charter from November 932 (S 418a) is not yet available in a printed edition, but a provisional text (prepared on behalf of the BA/RHS Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters) is available on the Internet at <http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/barking.html>.

Note 31 on p.72

31. Independent confirmation that one of these estates was in Exeter's hands prior to Leofric's episcopacy may be provided by S 1452 ... see Rose-Troup, 1931, pp.207-8 & plate V; Robertson, 1956, pp.98-9, 343-4; Foot, 2000, ii, pp. 86-8. The agreement is preserved as an addition to the *Leofric Missal*, and palaeographical opinion as to the date of the hand is also divided: see Ker, 1957, pp.378-9 no.315; cf. Conner, 1993, p.25 n19.

Note 37 on p.73

37. John of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, s.a. 968 ... See also Keynes, 1980, p.236 & tables 4-5; Conner, 1993, pp. 29-31, 84-5, 89 n146; Insley, 1998, p.177 n24; Foot, 2000, ii, pp.87-9; Kelly, 2000-1, ii, p.449.

Note 90 on p.87

90. S 795 (endorsement) ... For the dating of the hand, see Chaplais, 1966, p.15; note also Scragg, 1993, pp.27-8, whose work suggests that the form *Brihtric* would not have begun to replace the earlier form *Byrhtic*, particularly in south-western contexts, until the early eleventh century (although cf. Rose-Troup, 1942, p.254, for a suggestion that Brihtric's grant was actually made in the late tenth century).

Note 185 on p.119

185. Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,123; 16,129; 24,2 ... ; however, the personal-name Vitalis is rare in post-Conquest Devon, so that the occurrence of *Vidal at Culumtune* as a witness to a contemporary manumission preserved in the *Exeter Book* (Pelteret, 1990, p.105 no.105; Rose-Troup, 1937, pp.423, 434; see also note 254 below) makes the identification with Cullompton almost certain ...

Note 210 on p.132

210. *Record of Moving*, §6 ... William of Malmesbury's claim ... that Leofric expelled a community of nuns from Exeter minster is unsubstantiated: see Foot, 2000, ii, pp.6, 85-8; but cf. note 237 below re St Sidwell's church.

Text on p.137 and note 229 on p.137

A pre-Conquest church is implied by the place-name *Jacobeschirche*, a Domesday holding of Ælfeva in 1066 and 1086 that is clearly the same as the *Iacobes Cyra(n)* associated with Wulfweard son of Ælfric in three late eleventh- or early twelfth-century manumissions ...

229. Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,50; Reichel, 1912b, p.317; Rose-Troup, 1937, pp.421-2, 434-5, 437, 439; Pelteret, 1990, pp.101 no.97, 108 no.113, 109 no.117, 110-11 no.123; Bearman, 1994, pp.75-8 nos.26-8; Barlow, 1996a, pp. lxxxi, 32-5 no.33.

Note 237 on p.140

237. One further possibility should perhaps be noted ... It is just possible, therefore, that William of Malmesbury's claim that bishop Leofric expelled a community of nuns from Exeter minster when he took possession in 1050 (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, §94; see p.132 note 210 above) was based on a tradition ...

Note 254 on pp.146-7

254. See Thorpe, 1865, pp.608-10; Earle, 1888, pp.264-6; Förster, 1933b, pp.53-4 no.34 (although none of these give the full lists of members and some of the place-name identifications are open to question); Rose-Troup, 1937, *passim*; ... as a consequence of the removal and relocation of these folios, the texts that they preserve are no longer in their original order or context: see Rose-Troup, 1937, p.418; Ker, 1957, pp.28-31 no.20 (*contra* Förster, 1933c, pp.56-7); Conner, 1993, pp.242-4. To complicate matters further, the texts were added by many different hands at different times and combined contemporary entries with retrospective copies of earlier texts. The guildship lists and several of the manumissions (including that witnessed by *Vidal at Culumtune*, who died in 1097: see Rose-Troup, 1937, p.423 & n9; see also note 185 above) were apparently written by the same hand ...

Note 482 on p.209

482. *Contra* Thorn, 1991, p.41 n24; see Whale, 1900, p.545 (and see *ibid.*, pp.534-5, *contra* Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.xix); Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.554, 556 (but cf. *ibid.*, i, p.45 s.n. Horridge); Anderson, 1939, pp.83-4 (although note that the forms cited both by Gover *et al* and by Anderson are incomplete); and see also Smith, 1956, i, p.234 (s.n. hār²); Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.70 (re Horrabridge, Harrowbridge) for apparent parallels for a meaning 'boundary' rather than 'grey' ...

Note 37 on p.249

37. The present state of the debate is conveniently summarised, with references, by Dark, 1994, pp.258-60. The fundamental discussion of Gildas's internal chronology by Dumville, 1984 (summarised on pp.83-4), needs to be qualified in the light of the observations made by Higham (1992, pp.156-7) regarding the letter to Aëtius (cf. Casey & Jones, 1990), although Higham's over-reliance on the Gallic Chronicles (on which see Wood, 1984, pp.17-21, and especially p.19 n139) means that we are not required to accept the remainder of his argument.

Note 105 on p.270

105. Orme, 2000, p.4 ... A recent article by Martin Grimmer ... also deals with some of the material discussed here; I am grateful to Abi Preston for bringing this article to my attention, and to Martin Grimmer for subsequently discussing his research with me.

Note 123 on p.279

123. Attenborough, 1922, pp.36-61 *cap.* 23.3, 24.2, 32, 33, 54.2, 74. For recent discussion of these clauses and the differences in *wergilds*, see Grimmer, 2002; see also Ward-Perkins, 2000, pp.523-4 ...

Text on p.282 and in note 134

It is far more probable that *Hebil* is a Primitive Cornish word related to Old Cornish **heyl*, with the sense 'salt river, estuary', which survives in several Cornish place-names and in the river-names Hayle in west Cornwall as well as being an earlier name for the Camel estuary in Cornwall and perhaps for the Kingsbridge estuary in south Devon.¹³⁴ Whether *Hebil* actually refers to one of these recorded place-names is uncertain, however.

134. Padel, 1985, pp.127-8; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, p.328 (*s.n.* East Portlemouth); see also Ekwall, 1928, pp.192-3; *idem*, 1960, pp.228, 232 (*s.n.* Hayle, Helford); Mills, 1998, pp.172, 174, 276 (*s.n.* Hayle, Helford; Portlemouth).

Note 142 on p.284

142. S 277; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, p.265; Edwards, 1988, pp.234-6. If an area ...

Note 228 on p.310

228. Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.554 (*cf. ibid.*, i, p.125); Smith, 1956, i, pp.33-5; ii, pp.18-22 ...

Note 373 on p.179

373. Oliver, 1846, pp.382-4; Rowe, 1875, pp.352-9 (see also Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.xiv, *re* the identification of *Lutteskeskell* with Lockshallis farm in Halberton); Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.382; *idem*, 1904, pp.173-7 no.564; Reichel, 1910, pp.231-2; Reichel *et al*, 1939, pp.6-7 no.773; Hobbs, 1998, pp.99-100 nos.375, 378.

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add ...

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List of abbreviations

<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</i> [with text and annal specified]
DB	Domesday Book [Exchequer version by chapter and entry (following Thorn & Thorn, 1985), unless otherwise specified]
<i>DEB</i>	Gildas, <i>De Excidio Britanniae</i> [cited by chapter]
DRO	Devon Record Office, Exeter
<i>Exeter Book</i>	<i>The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry</i> [Exeter, Cathedral Library, Dean and Chapter MS. 3501; Chambers <i>et al</i> , 1933 (facsimile)]
<i>Exon</i>	<i>Liber Exoniensis</i> , containing the ‘Exeter Domesday’ and related documents [Exeter, Cathedral Library, Dean and Chapter MS. 3500]
<i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i> [cited by book and chapter]
<i>Inventory</i>	‘Bishop Leofric’s Inventory of Lands and Books’ [<i>Exeter Book</i> fos. 1 ^r -2 ^v ; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auctarium D.2.16 fos. 1 ^r -2 ^v]
<i>Leofric Missal</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579
OE	Old English [language]
OS	Ordnance Survey
PRO	Public Record Office, London
<i>Record of Moving</i>	‘The Record of Moving the See of Devon from Crediton to Exeter’ [<i>Leofric Missal</i> fos. 2 ^r -3 ^v]
S	Anglo-Saxon diploma catalogued in Kelly 1999 [= <i>The Electronic Sawyer: an Online Version of the Revised Edition of Sawyer’s Anglo-Saxon Charters</i>], and implicitly referring to the details of editions, etc. given in that catalogue
Tax Returns	<i>Inquisitio Geldi</i> [<i>Exon</i> fos. 65a-71a]
<i>Taxatio</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV</i>
TO	<i>Terrae Occupatae</i> [<i>Exon</i> fos. 495a-506b]

Chapter 1

Ecclesiastical parishes and the medieval landscape.

1.1: The significance of ecclesiastical parishes and their boundaries.

There is increasing evidence to indicate that remnants of early systems of landscape organisation can be recovered from the modern landscape, despite numerous problems of methodology and dating. Topographical and archaeological studies have demonstrated that even field systems of pre-Roman origin are sometimes preserved by the modern field patterns.¹ Studies such as these are invaluable, because they emphasise the potential antiquity and continuity of the human exploitation and organisation of the landscape. Yet in themselves, field boundaries - and even entire field systems - are relatively straightforward things. They have a physical existence. Their shapes often make sense for agricultural reasons such as livestock management or the space needed to turn a plough. There is sometimes the potential for dating them through archaeological excavation, species analysis or the presence of intrusive features. It is when they cease to be simply the edge of a field but become also the edge of a farm - or an ecclesiastical parish, or a county, or even a kingdom - that things become more complicated, because at that point they acquire a conceptual as well as a physical existence.

Conceptual boundaries, of course, can also adopt natural features or even imaginary lines connecting two points, and they are virtually undatable without some understanding of why they were formed. The models developed by prehistorians have emphasised the wide variety of possible boundary-making episodes, ranging from decisions taken by an autocratic central authority to a community's solutions for managing collectively owned land or supporting an

¹ See e.g. Taylor, 1975, pp.26-34; Williamson, 1987.

exploitative élite.² What is significant is that the decision is made within the context of contemporary social and landscape organisation, and that a conceptual boundary implies the possession of recognised rights over certain aspects of land use within a defined area. In other words, conceptual boundaries can adopt and effectively fossilise certain aspects of the contemporary human landscape at the time of their formation. By the same token, a boundary can embody more than one such concept at different times. However, so long as the boundary survives in some recorded form, there is the potential for us to explore how and when that fossilisation occurred in any particular instance and what it fossilised.

The history of the local church, often preserving valuable evidence through ecclesiastical conservatism, forms an important aspect of English settlement studies, and much attention has been given to the configuration of ecclesiastical parishes and the form in which they survived, apparently largely unchanged, from the medieval period until the second half of the nineteenth century.³ In particular, antiquarians and historians have long been aware of local correlations between Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries and those of ecclesiastical parishes, while regional studies have emphasised that these correlations are widespread although not universal;⁴ but can we explain what lies behind such correlations? In order to do this, we need to ask what it was that the ecclesiastical parishes actually represented, in terms of both the landscape within which they were defined and the context within which they originated. A useful starting point is to look at a few examples (chosen mainly for their relevance to south-western Britain) that illustrate the development of ideas regarding the patterns and units of medieval landscape organisation and their origins. After discussing some of the basic assumptions underlying such studies, this chapter

² There are valuable discussions of prehistorians' territorial landscape models, with further references, in Fleming, 1996; *idem*, 1998.

³ For reasons of convenience and readability, and unless specified otherwise, references in this thesis to ecclesiastical parishes using the present tense should be taken as referring to those that preceded the frequent reorganisations of ecclesiastical and civil parishes since the mid-nineteenth century; similarly, the counties referred to are those that preceded the reorganisation of 1974 (this practice being in accordance with the policy adopted by the English Place-Name Society, the Victoria County Histories, and others). The modern changes are summarised by Youngs, 1979.

⁴ The most recent work on Devon charter boundaries is by Hooke, 1994, pp.83-224 (see section 1.3 below); a new British Academy edition of the Exeter charters by Dr Charles Insley is currently at an advanced stage of preparation.

will then consider whether the models now being developed can contribute to our understanding of the early medieval landscape organisation and history of south-western Britain and, in particular, the area of Exeter and its hinterland that forms the main focus of the present thesis.

* * *

In the late 1940s, Charles Drew suggested that the English countryside was like a palimpsest from which the 'original writing' could sometimes be recovered with the aid of aerial photography, fieldwork and the six-inch Ordnance Survey maps, supported by documentary evidence such as Domesday Book and early estate maps and surveys.⁵ Whilst researching the medieval hundreds of Dorset he noticed that the boundaries of modern parishes⁶ often enclosed exactly the same area as one or more medieval manors but rarely cut through one, and that manorial boundaries often survived as permanent hedges even after enclosure. Looking in more detail at the Iwerne valley and its natural and agrarian topography, Drew considered the relationship of its parishes and manors both to each other and to the local pattern of resource division. For one of the parishes, Steepleton Iwerne, he was able to argue that both the arable and woodland areas recorded for the corresponding Domesday holding of *Werne* exactly matched those discernible within the modern parish.⁷ Similar results were obtained for the manors comprising the adjacent parishes of Stourpaine and Shroton, although this level of accuracy could not be demonstrated for all the parishes in the valley. Drew concluded that this 'strikingly regular pattern' of manors, confirmed by other examples elsewhere in Dorset, must represent 'orderly country planning' of at least late Anglo-Saxon date; and he suggested that it probably resulted from the introduction of 'a new agricultural system' during the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain.⁸

⁵ Drew, 1948, p.43.

⁶ Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Drew means the contemporary civil parishes or the ecclesiastical parishes in their early nineteenth-century form; the latter seems more probable given the context of his original research.

⁷ *ibid.*, pp.48-9.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.50. This suggestion appears to have been influenced by contemporary models that perceived the Germanic incomers as conquering a relatively small native population and creating a new settlement pattern in a landscape that had been in decay since the late Roman period; this interpretation is questioned below.

Drew's concept of an early medieval 'ordered landscape', partially preserved in some unexplained way by parish boundaries, was further developed by Christopher Taylor, also working in Dorset and using a similar approach to that of Drew. Noting that Didlington farm in Chalbury parish corresponded to the Domesday holding of Didlington, and that the parish boundaries⁹ exactly matched those of *Dydelingtune* in a charter of 946, he argued that the boundaries of adjacent parishes must also have been fixed by the mid-tenth century.¹⁰ This and similar examples led Taylor to conclude that in Dorset at least, allowing for some modern changes, the great majority of what we now call parishes reflect a system of landscape organisation in existence by the tenth century. Furthermore, by examining the topography, charters, maps and Domesday entries relating to a number of parishes and parish groups across Dorset, he argued that their often complex internal divisions could also be reconstructed, and that these defined economically distinct land-units associated with settlements existing by the eleventh century or earlier.¹¹ He suggested that these 'land-units' represented the basic division of local resources for subsistence agriculture, predating 'mere ecclesiastical or tenurial groupings', and that the origins of this basic settlement pattern were 'likely to be Romano-British or Celtic rather than [Anglo-]Saxon'.¹²

It must be admitted that these valuable studies are not without their weaknesses. Neither Drew nor Taylor specified the sources used to establish the parish boundaries or the solutions for the charter boundaries to which they made reference.¹³ Although a *terminus ante quem* is provided for some boundaries (although not their surviving physical manifestations) by documentary

⁹ Taylor uses the terms 'parish', 'modern parish' and 'present parish' apparently interchangeably, although a reference to the 'modern ecclesiastical parishes' [p.50] provides implicit clarification of his usage.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.50; as local support for this view he cited Horton parish, immediately north of Chalbury, whose boundaries matched those given in a charter of 1033.

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp.51-71.

¹² *ibid.*, pp.71-3. In reaching this conclusion, Taylor states his acceptance of a model of the migration period that perceived a relatively small number of Germanic incomers as imposing political control over a surviving and extensive Romano-British population; the problems of this interpretation are also discussed below.

¹³ Taylor appears to have used Grundy's work on charters (he lists Grundy's Dorset work in his 'Select Bibliography': *ibid.*, p.83), but Grundy's boundary solutions (derived primarily from maps rather than fieldwork) cannot be taken as definitive: see e.g. Hoskins, 1982, pp.37-8, 78; Gelling, 1997, p.208.

references, others are far less certain. Like Drew, Taylor placed particular emphasis on early boundaries surviving as hedge-lines in the modern landscape and recognised the difficulty in dating these; but the hope that hedgerow dating techniques would clarify their origins now seems unlikely to be realised.¹⁴ Furthermore, the dates of origin for the basic patterns of landscape organisation that Drew and Taylor suggested were heavily influenced by the models of Anglo-Saxon and post-Roman British relations and settlement current at the time that each was writing, and these models are now regarded as untenable by place-name scholars and archaeologists.¹⁵

Obviously, these two studies represent only a fraction of the research into the development of the English landscape carried out by historians, archaeologists and geographers during the past fifty years, although much of this work lies beyond the scope of the present discussion.¹⁶ It should also be emphasised that even in areas where there is a high degree of correlation between manorial or charter boundaries and those of ecclesiastical parishes, it is often apparent that there have been at least minor changes to those boundaries over time.¹⁷ Nevertheless, these correlations exist; and the key feature of the two Dorset studies is that Drew and Taylor were able to demonstrate these, and sought to explain them, in terms of large-scale patterns of landscape organisation rather than as isolated phenomena. Whatever the methodological problems of dating, it is clear that the parochial network here must have fossilised numerous ‘conceptual boundaries’ of at least late pre-Conquest origin.

This raises the speculative question of how old some of these ‘conceptual boundaries’, and the land-units that they originally defined, might be. Although few would now accept without some degree of qualification Herbert Finberg’s argument that the ecclesiastical parish of Withington in

¹⁴ Taylor, 1970, pp.71-2 (and see also Hoskins, 1982, pp.117-30); but *cf.* Aston, 1985, pp.136-7; Rackham, 1986, pp.194-202, on the problems of Hooper’s Rule and the limitations of hedgerow dating techniques for the early medieval and Roman periods.

¹⁵ e.g. Welch, 1992, pp.97ff; Gelling, 1997 (in the ‘Introduction to the Third Edition’; there is no pagination, but the argument is summarised on the ninth page of that introduction). For a reassessment of such models with respect to Devon, see chapter 4.2 below.

¹⁶ See e.g. Williamson, 1998, pp.1-6, 20-1. There is a good bibliography in Aston, 1985, pp.154-64, while the ‘Introduction’ in Thirsk, 2000, pp.9-24, provides a useful overview of current research.

¹⁷ See e.g. the discussions *re* Stoke Canon in chapter 3.2 (at pp.76-7) and 3.2.1 (at pp.122-3) below.

Gloucestershire represents a continuous development from its origins as a Roman villa estate, there is undoubtedly the potential for such continuity.¹⁸ Even allowing for catastrophic economic and technological collapse and steady demographic decline during the fifth century, it is now evident that the early Germanic incomers were certainly not encountering a largely derelict or abandoned landscape with (in the words of the famous quote from Hoskins) 'almost everything yet to be done'.¹⁹ Our improved understanding of the extent of settlement and agriculture in late Roman Britain (to which, as Drew predicted, aerial photography has made a valuable contribution) makes it clear that the rural population was probably above three million people, while pollen analyses show a substantial continuity of agriculture into the post-Roman centuries.²⁰ Indeed, the survival of arguably pre-Roman field systems revealed by topographical analyses such as that by Tom Williamson near Dickleburgh in Norfolk points to their having been in continuous cultivation throughout the last two millennia, even if this need not imply a corresponding level of institutional continuity in terms of the conceptual boundaries.²¹

A similar methodology, whereby a *terminus ante quem* for boundary patterns is established by reference to datable non-conformist features, was applied to parish boundaries in Wiltshire by Desmond Bonney. In one of his case studies, he argued that the East Wansdyke - a linear earthwork constructed in or after the fourth century, but long before Anglo-Saxon references to it in the early tenth century - obviously overlay the pattern of ecclesiastical parishes; or rather, it overlay the pattern of land-units whose boundaries were fossilised by those of the later parishes.²² Although his suggestion that the incidence of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites on or near these boundaries supported an early or pre-Anglo-Saxon date for their origin is open to question, and there are undoubted weaknesses in some of his studies, Bonney's argument with respect to the

¹⁸ Finberg, 1955; cf. the comments of Aston, 1985, p.32; Welch, 1992, p.104; Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.73-4.

¹⁹ Hoskins, 1955, p.42; that this idea is now 'wholly untenable' is emphasised by Bassett, 2000a, p.111.

²⁰ Esmonde Cleary, 1989, pp.100, 104-5, 174-5, 204; *idem*, 1993, p.57; Millet, 1990, pp.181-6; Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.28ff, 143-4; Williamson, 1998, pp.5-6; see also chapter 4.1 below (at p.244).

²¹ Williamson, 1987; Esmonde Cleary, 1989, pp.159, 203-4; Bassett, 2000a, pp.109-10.

²² Bonney, 1972, pp.173-8 (and referring to ecclesiastical parishes as recorded by the tithe maps: *ibid.*, pp.168-9, 171).

'East Wansdyke parishes' has not been fatally damaged and his conclusion that the parish boundaries reflect an 'ordered landscape' in existence by the pagan Anglo-Saxon period remains tenable.²³ Obviously, neither this nor the other studies considered above means that all or even most ecclesiastical parish boundaries have fossilised land-units whose origins were of this or earlier date. In some areas there is equally good evidence for discontinuity of landscape use at various periods, and we should allow for the probable amalgamation or fragmentation of both secular and ecclesiastical land-units throughout the pre- and post-Conquest periods. What it does mean is that we should keep an open mind and recognise the likelihood of local and regional variations in both the nature and the origins of the conceptual boundaries that were fossilised by the formation of ecclesiastical parishes.

These examples serve to emphasise the validity of continued attempts to decipher the 'landscape palimpsest', but do not bring us any closer to understanding the rationale linking the ecclesiastical parish boundaries to that landscape. Without a contextual historical framework for their origins, whether general or regional, it will be difficult to realise their potential as evidence. However, both Taylor and Bonney suggested that Anglo-Saxon 'minster' churches responsible for the spiritual welfare of large surrounding territories were gradually superseded, often as local lords built churches to serve their own estates, and that the parishes of these later, local churches were formed by 'the grouping of the older economic land units'.²⁴ The essence of this idea, much refined and developed by subsequent research, has become known as the 'minster hypothesis'; and it is to this model and its underlying assumptions that we must now turn our attention.

²³ Bonney, 1966, pp.27-9; *idem*, 1972, pp.171-3, 176; but *cf.* Aston, 1985, pp.39-40; Welch, 1985, pp.19-21; Hooke, 1998, pp.63-7. Also, note that boundaries may recognise burials rather than *vice versa*.

²⁴ Taylor, 1970, pp.78-82; Bonney, 1972, pp.168-9. Others had put forward similar ideas before this, e.g. Page, 1915, pp.65-7, 98-102; Addleshaw, 1953, pp.11-15; *idem*, 1954, pp.11-17. The term 'minster' is discussed in detail by Foot, 1992 (see also Cambridge & Rollason, 1995, pp.88-91; Blair, 1995, pp.194-6); in accordance with Anglo-Saxon usage, it will be used here as a deliberately general term that encompasses the wide variety of Anglo-Saxon communal religious establishments, from large regular monasteries to churches served by only two priests.

1.2: The 'minster hypothesis'.

It is useful to start with another case study. Using documentary, archaeological and architectural evidence, Patrick Hase examined Anglo-Saxon 'mother churches' in Hampshire and their relationship to secular land-holding and organisation.²⁵ The mother church at Eling, for example, which in Domesday was connected both to the royal estate there and to the royal hundred of Redbridge, apparently had an 'original parish' that included Stone, ten miles away in what is now Exbury ecclesiastical parish; the evidence was not explicit, but the implication was that it had done so since the foundation of Eling minster in the late seventh century.²⁶ Hase argued that the mother churches at Old Southampton, Bishops Waltham, Titchfield and Romsey also originated as early minsters and, with the possible exception of Romsey, that each was connected to both an early royal estate and a later royal hundred. So far as could be demonstrated, the contiguous 'original parishes' of these five churches covered the whole of the area around Southampton Water, and the only royal estates known to have existed within this area were those connected with these mother churches. A similar situation appeared to apply in the rest of Hampshire and in western Surrey. Hase concluded that this relationship had resulted from deliberate acts of West Saxon royal policy between c.685 and c.726 which linked the foundation of mother churches to social, political and judicial structures, and that each original parish was essentially coterminous with an existing administrative sub-district focussed on a *villa regalis*, or 'king's estate'.²⁷

According to Hase, this system of ecclesiastical organisation subsequently fragmented between the tenth and twelfth centuries as mother churches lost control of parts of their original

²⁵ Hase, 1988. Hase used the term 'mother church' in preference to 'minster' (see Foot, 1992, p.215); my use follows the medieval practice of using *matrix ecclesia* to describe the senior church of a contemporary ecclesiastical district (on which see Bassett, 1997a, p.3), without prejudice as to whether or not that church had originated as a 'minster'.

²⁶ Hase, 1988, p.45. Hase uses the term *parochia* to describe the original area (usually comprising numerous later ecclesiastical parishes as recorded in the early nineteenth century) parochially subject to a mother church (see Hase, 1988, p.62 n3), which in this sense is essentially the same as the terms 'minster parish' and 'mother parish' used by other writers, although the dominant Anglo-Saxon practice was to use *parochia* in the sense of 'diocese': see Blair, 1988, p.1. However, I have preferred to use the more neutral term 'original parish' in most cases.

²⁷ Hase, 1988, pp.47-8; 58.

parishes.²⁸ Bishops, and religious houses founded or regularised as a consequence of monastic reforms, built new churches to serve manors granted to them; mother churches built subordinate churches in outlying areas to serve the pastoral needs of a growing population; and thegny families built churches at their estate centres for reasons of convenience and status.²⁹ Over time, these new churches tended to become independent parish churches - particularly if the mother church became the living for a royal or episcopal clerk who could derive financial benefit from such arrangements, as Hase was able to illustrate using the unusually comprehensive twelfth-century documents relating to Christchurch.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether it is legitimate to use post-Conquest records as evidence of seventh- or eighth-century developments, Hase's model seems to provide us with at least part of the historical context underlying ecclesiastical parishes. It provides a rough chronological framework for their development, and it offers an explanation as to why they often reflect the manorial, estate and charter boundaries of late Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, it appears to open up the possibility of using ecclesiastical parish boundaries to explore the socio-economic structures of an even earlier period if the original parishes of the early minsters can be reconstructed in some way, although this presents us with further problems. It must be admitted that whilst the existence of *villae regales* has long been recognised, there remain many questions regarding the origins and subsequent stability of the putative administrative sub-districts centred upon them; hundreds remain problematic but appear to represent the systematic reorganisation of earlier administrative units in the early tenth century.³⁰

Nevertheless, the 'minster hypothesis' does seem to present us with a promising way forward; and, although its proponents sometimes differ on points of detail and we must allow for the possibility of considerable regional variation, the essential outline of the hypothesis can be

²⁸ Hase proposed his model as an essentially West Saxon system, although noting that evidence for similar systems in other kingdoms was growing; *ibid.*, p.48.

²⁹ *ibid.*, pp.48-9.

³⁰ e.g. Cam, 1944, *passim*; Stenton, 1971, pp.292-3, 298-301; Sawyer, 1983, pp.282-6; Brooks, 1996, pp.132-3.

summarised as follows.³¹ The earliest English parochial system was one of collegiate minsters, founded mainly in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, whose large original parishes were defined in relation to existing patterns of socio-economic landscape organisation and within which they were responsible for the pastoral care of the inhabitants. This system began to disintegrate after the late eighth century (and particularly after the early tenth century) through a mixture of decay, attrition and deliberate policy. Lesser and later churches founded within the minster's original parish acquired varying degrees of independence, becoming public 'parish churches' each serving a now detached portion of the minster's original parish that was similarly defined in relation to existing socio-economic land-units; by the thirteenth century this process gave rise to the ecclesiastical parishes that were first systematically mapped in the early nineteenth century. To function effectively, a public church needs a priest to carry out its ministry, a font for baptisms and a cemetery for burials. As financial benefits were derived from these functions and other sources of spiritual revenues such as tithes, a mother church naturally sought to retain its rights to such revenues, with the result that traces of the earlier arrangements can often be found in later records of disputes, payments and other affiliations between churches. Of critical importance to the 'minster hypothesis' is this assumption that the system's origins and development can be reconstructed from often implicit rather than explicit evidence ranging in date from the seventh century to the Reformation or even later. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some historians have challenged both its methods and its conclusions.

* * *

The most important challenge has been that by Eric Cambridge and David Rollason, who presented an extensive critique of the model and offered an alternative hypothesis in the journal *Early Medieval Europe*, to which a proponent of the model, John Blair, responded in a subsequent

³¹ This summary is drawn from a number of sources (notably Brooke 1982; Blair 1988; *idem* 1995; Croom 1988; Hase 1988; Kemp 1988; Bassett 1997a) but does not claim to represent the specific views of any one individual.

issue.³² Cambridge and Rollason argued that the terminology used for Anglo-Saxon churches was varied, so that describing all of these simply as ‘minsters’ may ‘ignore and obscure fundamental differences of function and character’.³³ They also pointed out that the provision of pastoral care was primarily the responsibility of bishops, and that originally independent religious foundations with no such responsibility (and hence no ‘original parish’) may only have been incorporated into a diocesan system at a considerably later date. Indeed, they questioned whether such pastoral provision was an objective of the early Anglo-Saxon church, arguing that the uneven distribution of pre-Viking ecclesiastical sites in Durham and Yorkshire ‘does not look like an attempt at providing systematic pastoral care’.³⁴ Instead, they suggested that Carolingian reforms of Church organisation - which included the need to define areas from which local churches could draw tithes and hence gave rise to ‘the concept of parish boundaries’ - influenced those later imposed by the West Saxon dynasty as part of ‘the creation or systemisation of units of civil, military, and financial control’ by which the various Anglo-Saxon polities were forged into a unified English kingdom.³⁵ Such deliberate reorganisation by a strong monarchy makes the process of fragmentation suggested by the ‘minster hypothesis’ unlikely. Drawing primarily on the evidence of the late Anglo-Saxon law codes, they suggested that rather than an earlier ‘minster system’ in decay, we are seeing the imposition of a new hierarchical system of subdiocesan churches, ‘intimately related to that of secular institutions’, in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.³⁶

In his response to this paper, Blair pointed out that the problem of terminology had already been addressed fully in earlier work and that it provided no support for the separate system of ‘episcopal churches’ that Cambridge and Rollason proposed, although he accepted that a progressive episcopal systemisation of earlier structures was not an unreasonable model and that

³² Cambridge & Rollason, 1995; Blair, 1995.

³³ Cambridge & Rollason, 1995, p.91.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.96.

³⁵ *ibid.*, pp.98-9.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.103.

the 'minster hypothesis' had tended to understate the pastoral role of bishops.³⁷ However, there was no evidence that the hypothetical Carolingian model of local parish formation had been applied *de novo* in England (although these ideas had undoubtedly influenced aspects of English practice), while in parts of Francia there was evidence for a pre-Carolingian parochial system remarkably similar to that proposed by the 'minster hypothesis'.³⁸ Blair also noted that Cambridge and Rollason drew upon local studies from areas that had been heavily affected by Scandinavian activity and settlement, whereas the 'minster hypothesis' had been developed mainly from local studies in areas that had not; while this did not invalidate the model, it did indicate the possibility of considerable regional variation and the need for detailed local studies as a means of moving the debate forwards.³⁹ The importance of regional differences was also emphasised in a separate study by Catherine Cubitt, whose main criticisms of the 'minster hypothesis' were that it tended to be too 'uniform and universal' in its application and to exaggerate the degree of centralised authority that late seventh- and early eighth-century kings and bishops were able to exercise.⁴⁰ She accepted that many minsters probably had an important pastoral role, even if this was not necessarily their primary function; but she argued that local religious and political circumstances could significantly influence the system's development. In particular, Cubitt suggested that the model should allow for the possibility that the emergence of an organised system of pastoral care was a much slower process extending into the later eighth and ninth centuries.⁴¹

So where does this leave us? As Hase observed, the fragmentary nature of the evidence allows uncertainty as to whether 'each recorded case represents the normal situation rather than an anomaly'.⁴² However, all agree that a network of local churches and ecclesiastical parishes [hereafter referred to simply as 'parishes'] related to existing secular structures had developed

³⁷ Blair, 1995, pp.194-6, 203-4.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp.196-8, 210-11.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp.199-201; cf. Fleming, 1985, pp.249-50.

⁴⁰ Cubitt, 1995, pp.116-17.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.118.

⁴² Hase, 1988, p.58.

from a hierarchical system of subdiocesan churches during the three centuries before c.1200; the fundamental differences relate to the situation before the establishment of a unified English kingdom in the tenth century. Similarly, both sides argue that evidence for their interpretations of the earlier arrangements can be detected in the limited contemporary and later documentary references, although an overemphasis on pastoral and legal rather than territorial structures has perhaps led opponents of the 'minster hypothesis' to neglect topographical evidence.

However, throughout much of central and southern England at least, it appears that many if not most of the mother churches of the late Anglo-Saxon period originated as minsters founded in the late seventh and eighth centuries.⁴³ For present purposes, therefore, the debate between proponents and opponents of the 'minster hypothesis' hinges on what Steven Bassett has described as the 'Kiplingesque issue of how and when the minster first got its parish'.⁴⁴ As Blair pointed out, the difficulty lies in determining the point at which a minster's original parish - the territory within which it provided pastoral care and from which it derived presumably reciprocal spiritual revenues - existed independently of the secular territorial institution(s) to which it was related; what was needed, he suggested, was early evidence that these minsters continued to exert 'mother church rights' over lands that had been alienated from their putative original parishes.⁴⁵ More recently, Bassett has highlighted two examples that may help towards resolving this issue. Firstly, a lease of Elmstone (Gloucestershire) by the cathedral clergy of Worcester in 889 specifies that it 'once belonged to the minster at [Bishops] Cleeve' and that the minster should still receive the 'church-scot' (on which see below) due from Elmstone, which strongly suggests that a Mercian minster had a recognised 'original parish' before the supposedly Carolingian-inspired introduction of 'parishes' by the West Saxon royal dynasty.⁴⁶ Secondly, lands at Teddington and Little Washbourne (also in Gloucestershire) were granted to Bredon minster in 780 and remained

⁴³ Blair, 1995, pp.199-203 (and other studies cited in this section); cf. Cambridge & Rollason, 1995, pp.95-6, 101-3.

⁴⁴ Bassett, 1997a, p.3.

⁴⁵ Blair, 1995, pp.203, 206-7.

⁴⁶ Bassett, 1997a, pp.6-7, 20.

part of Bredon's estate thereafter, yet later evidence shows that both places were chapelries of a church at Overbury that itself apparently originated as a chapel of a minster at Beckford, which suggests that these 'parochial links' existed before 780.⁴⁷ Also relevant here are the implications of research by Francesca Tinti into 'church-scot', an ecclesiastical due that was usually rendered in the form of a measure of grain at Martinmas (11 November), the payment of which was legally enforced from the late seventh century and that a mid-tenth century law specifies must be paid 'to the old minster from every free hearth'.⁴⁸ She suggests that from its beginnings this was a render due from all assessed lands, not just those in the hands of an ecclesiastical institution, and that it was almost certainly paid directly to the relevant minster rather than being administered or allocated by the bishop.⁴⁹ If Tinti is correct - and we must reserve judgement until her research is complete - then the concept of a legally recognisable territory from which an 'old minster' derived its church-scot already existed in the late seventh century, long before the legal enforcement of the payment of tithes, even if a reciprocal obligation to provide pastoral care to this 'original parish' was not the primary motive for the foundation of that minster.

These developments add weight to the interpretation suggested by proponents of the 'minster hypothesis', but it should be emphasised that the debate remains unresolved. Nevertheless, if the 'minster hypothesis' is valid - even if only for some regions - then it does not only provide us with a model for the developing institutions of the early Anglo-Saxon Church. It also provides us with a potential tool for examining the contemporary secular institutions and the process of state formation in the early medieval period. As the purpose here is to consider whether the information derived from the study of ecclesiastical parishes can shed light on the early medieval

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp.8-9, 20, 22-4.

⁴⁸ For church-scot see e.g. Barlow, 1963, pp.160, 179; Stenton, 1971, pp.153-4; for the laws, see Attenborough, 1922, pp.36-7 (*cap.* 4); Whitelock *et al.*, 1981, p.98 (*cap.* 2.2). The term 'old minster' (*eald mynster*) is used by most modern writers to describe a minster founded before the late eighth century, although Cambridge & Rollason, 1995, pp.99-100, observe that *eald* need not imply a pre-Alfredian origin and may not have a temporal sense in the law-code.

⁴⁹ Dr Tinti's research is still in progress and her findings remain (as yet) unpublished; my comments are based on a paper, 'From church-scot to tithe: the nature and development of the payment of church-dues in late Anglo-Saxon England', that she presented to the Medieval Postgraduate Research Seminar at the University of Birmingham in October 2001, and on the discussions that followed.

landscape organisation of south-west Britain, it is worth examining this aspect of the model in greater detail.

* * *

It has long been recognised that references to *regiones* or *provinciae* in seventh- and eighth-century sources included not only the various contemporary Anglo-Saxon kingdoms but also large administrative divisions within them. It is also apparent from contemporary sources that the measurement of land in terms of 'hides', although not yet fully understood, was a system of assessment related to land productivity for the purpose of taxation in the form of food renders.⁵⁰ Blair has argued that these 'hidation and asset-collection systems within the local *regio* ... are what would have made parochial definition possible', and it is clear that a mechanism such as this would enable the initial arrangements for the provision of church-scot suggested by Tinti's research.⁵¹ The implications of this conclusion are illustrated and developed by Bassett's multidisciplinary studies of areas such as that around Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire.⁵²

An early eighth-century charter records Æthelbald of Mercia granting twenty hides for the founding of a minster; it states that the land lies within the *regio* anciently called *Stoppingas* and, more specifically, that it is the part of that *regio* known as Wootton, located beside the river Alne and defined by long-established boundaries.⁵³ The place-name *Stoppingas* contains the Old English suffix *-ingas*, translatable as 'the people of', and it is likely that such *-ingas* names developed in the migration period and referred originally to the dominant 'clan' controlling a definable territory, usually conforming to the local natural topography, before becoming an abstract label attached to

⁵⁰ e.g. Stenton, 1971, p.279; Charles-Edwards, 1972; Campbell, 1982, p.58 (*cf. idem*, 2000, pp.xii-xiii); Sawyer, 1998, pp.144-5, 174; Brooks, 1999, p.10.

⁵¹ Blair, 1995, p.212 & n96. Tinti draws particular attention to two tenth-century leases relating to estates in Worcestershire and Oxfordshire (see Kelly, 1999, S 1303 [hereafter all references to this revised edition of Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters* will be given simply as S followed by the appropriate number]; S 1354) in which church-scot is clearly defined in areal terms, while Stenton, 1971, p.153 n2, has an editorial note of the eight church-scots due from an eight-hide estate that was the subject of a ninth-century Winchester lease (S 1275).

⁵² See Bassett, 1989b, pp.18ff, and references cited there; the following paragraph also draws upon undergraduate lectures given by Dr Bassett at the University of Birmingham in 1997-8.

⁵³ S 94.

the territorial unit itself.⁵⁴ Bassett suggests that these putative 'clan territories' underlie many of the early *regiones*, and that the uneven but gradual coalescence of these semi-autonomous *regiones* represents one method by which the later Anglo-Saxon kingdoms could have been formed.⁵⁵ It is also apparent from the charter evidence that a recognised and integrated hierarchy of named land-units such as Wootton existed within each *regio* by at least the late seventh century; and Bassett argues that the granting of such sub-units, initially to endow churches and later to pay secular officials, together with familial practices of land division such as partible inheritance, led to the fragmentation of the *regiones* and the emergence of manorialism in Anglo-Saxon England.⁵⁶

This brings us back to the parallel model proposed by the 'minster hypothesis'. As it appears that the arrangement by which a minster received the economic resources for its maintenance included a reciprocal pastoral duty to serve the whole territorial unit that contained the smaller land-units from which those resources were derived, Bassett suggests that it is often by tracing the links between the later parish churches (which developed on these smaller land-units) and the original minster that the extent of its original parish - and thus that of a *regio* such as that of *Stoppingas* - can be established, although this could be seen as a potentially circular argument if supporting evidence was not available. Bassett's refinement of the 'minster hypothesis' suggests that an approach that incorporates the analysis of the boundaries and affiliations of the later ecclesiastical parishes can provide information pertaining not only to the late and middle Anglo-Saxon periods but also to the migration period.

It need not only have been a putative 'clan territory' that lay behind a *regio* or some equivalent large-scale unit of early medieval landscape organisation, however. In a separate study, which discussed the methodology involved in considerable detail, Bassett used the same type of approach to reconstruct the original parishes of minsters in the Wroxeter area, and in doing so threw new light upon a long-recognised 'anomaly' in the boundary between the medieval dioceses

⁵⁴ Bassett, 1989b, pp.18-19, 21-3; *idem*, 1997b, pp.25-6; see also Cameron, 1996, pp.66-72; Gelling, 1997, pp.106-12.

⁵⁵ Bassett, 1989b, pp.23-4.

of Lichfield and Hereford.⁵⁷ He argued that the 'anomalous' area to the south of the Severn - a large and topographically well-defined land-unit comprising the original parish of Condover - was in Lichfield's diocese because it formed the southern hinterland of an area controlled by the inhabitants of Wroxeter prior to the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon minster there. Together with a large northern hinterland known as Ercall (whose eastern boundary followed the major watershed between the Severn and Trent river systems), Condover's original parish appeared to represent a British territory focussed on the post-Roman successor to *Viriconium*, the late Roman town and *civitas* capital that was the predecessor of Wroxeter.⁵⁸ Archaeological excavation has shown that *Viriconium* had a long post-Roman survival, while the alignment of Wroxeter's Anglo-Saxon minster parallel to the Roman road leading to the river-crossing suggests a degree of continuity; and although Bassett admits that even when taken together the evidence and arguments 'fall short of proof', they certainly constitute a strong and coherent hypothesis that is not easily dismissed.⁵⁹ Indeed, this multidisciplinary study of the Wroxeter area and similar studies of Worcester, Gloucester and Lichfield have enabled Bassett to present a cumulatively powerful case for the post-Roman continuity of the British Church in the West Midlands and a deliberate transition from British to Anglo-Saxon diocesan control during the late seventh century.⁶⁰

Obviously, the 'minster hypothesis' itself is not yet fully accepted as a model of developments in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods, so its use as a research tool for examining the landscape organisation and institutions of earlier periods inevitably will - and should - remain open to debate, for as Bassett has observed, 'proof is a luxury not usually available to students of

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp.19-20.

⁵⁷ *idem*, 1992b, pp.1-15.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp.14-23. More recently, Dr Bassett (*pers. comm.*, January 2002) has been informed by Dr Roger White that the suggested limits of this putative British territory are exactly matched, and apparently confirmed, by the distribution pattern revealed by the preliminary (and as yet unpublished) analysis of certain types of pottery sherds recovered through an extensive programme of field-walking as part of the Wroxeter Hinterland Survey undertaken by the Birmingham University Archaeological Field Unit.

⁵⁹ Bassett, 1992b, p.24.

⁶⁰ *idem*, 1989a, pp.230-48; *idem*, 1992a; *idem*, 2000a, pp.113-16.

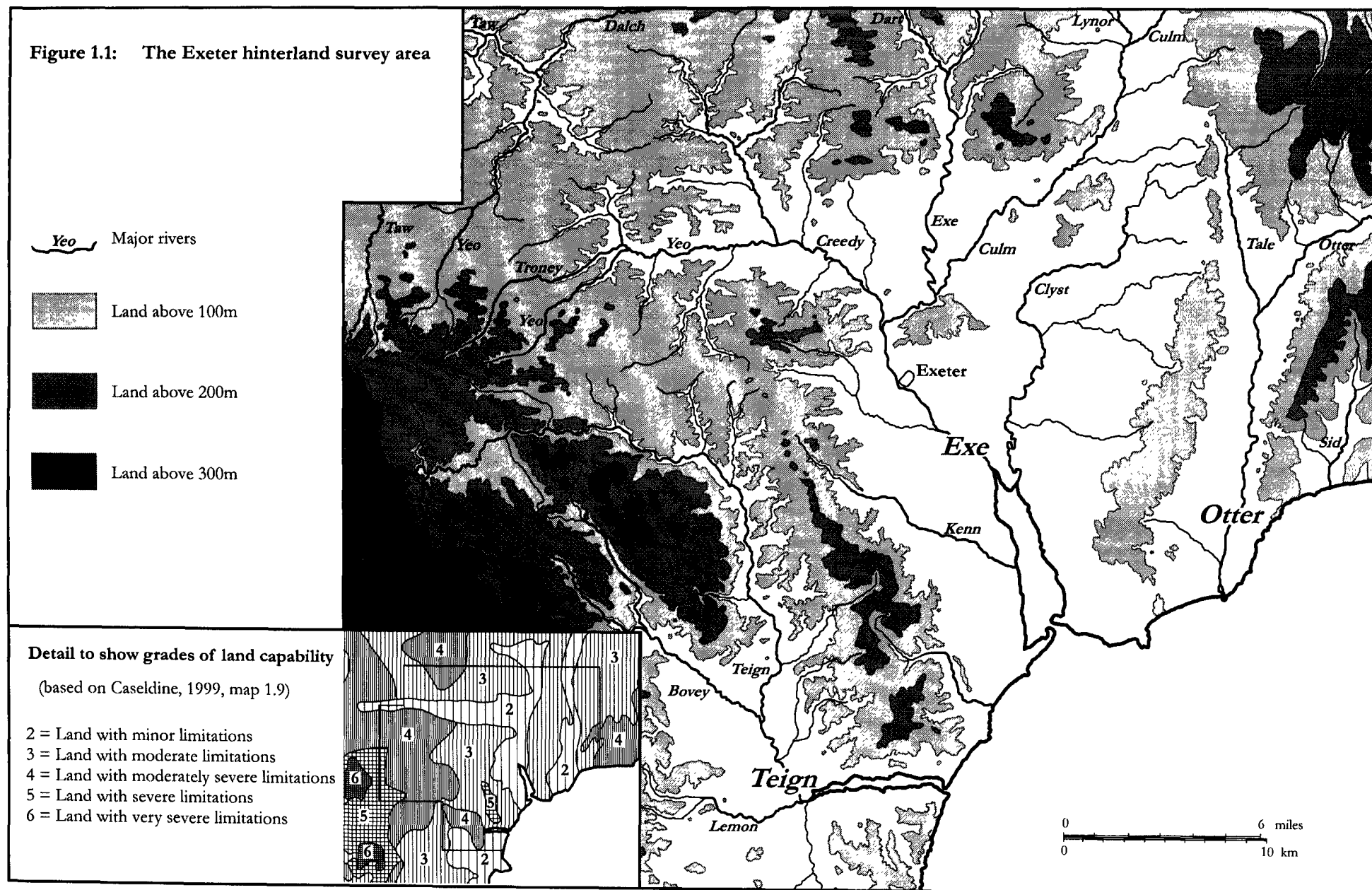
Britain in the first post-Roman centuries'.⁶¹ Nevertheless, his research in the West Midlands demonstrates the possibility - to put it no more strongly - that, in some areas at least, a multidisciplinary study that incorporates the 'minster hypothesis' as a basic model, and the analysis of ecclesiastical parishes as its basis, can shed light on the transition from late Roman to British and then to Anglo-Saxon society in the virtual absence of contemporary written evidence. In south-western Britain, where the metamorphosis from post-Roman British to Anglo-Saxon society was also late, there may be a further opportunity for studying aspects of that transition by using a similar approach. This would best be undertaken as a detailed study of a local area rather than a general regional survey, and it would also have to consider whether the models based on the 'minster hypothesis' can contribute to our understanding of the early medieval history of the south-west or whether alternative explanations must be sought.

The aim of the present study is to explore these possibilities by focussing on Exeter and a surrounding 'hinterland area' in Devon, an area comprising the lands associated with the river system of the lower Exe and parts of the adjacent systems of the river Otter to the east and the river Teign to the south-west (see Fig. 1.1). Like Wroxeter, Exeter had been a *civitas* capital and a probable late Roman see, while the site of the early medieval minster appears spatially related to that of the focus of late Roman authority and power as well as to an early post-Roman cemetery.⁶² Documentary evidence relating to the area is extremely limited prior to the late eleventh century, by which time Exeter was again a flourishing town and an episcopal seat, but a multidisciplinary study of the type discussed above has the potential to reduce some of the lacunae in our understanding of the area's history during the intervening centuries. Although no directly comparable study of this area has previously been made, the few multidisciplinary studies so far undertaken in the region have yielded promising indications of the potential for further, and more comprehensive, local studies.

⁶¹ *idem*, 1992b, p.24.

⁶² See chapters 3.2 and 4.1 below; see also Fig. 3.1.

Figure 1.1: The Exeter hinterland survey area



1.3: Related studies in south-western Britain.

The first topographical studies of early medieval Devon were by one of the pioneers of landscape history, William Hoskins, using methodologies closely related to those of Drew and Taylor (one of his students). Much of his work tended to focus on a single parish or to draw upon such studies to illustrate more general themes, but in a paper on the development of Devon's agrarian landscape he proposed a number of reconstructed 'early Anglo-Saxon estates' based on what was essentially an early version of the 'minster hypothesis'.⁶³ Unfortunately, this was not a comprehensive survey and Hoskins provided little in the way of supporting evidence or discussion for any of these putative 'early estates', while aspects of his dating and interpretation were influenced by contemporary models that must now be discounted. For example, although his perception of an Anglo-Saxon 'conquest and settlement' of Devon was less extreme than that proposed by Frank Stenton (in that he allowed for the partial survival and assimilation of a small British population), he envisaged the Anglo-Saxon 'conquerors' as effectively having the freedom to create a new settlement pattern *de novo*.⁶⁴ Similarly, he believed that the 'classic' form of Anglo-Saxon settlement from the earliest period was that of the nucleated village and its associated 'common field' system of agriculture, and this model too has since been rendered untenable.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he opened the way for further research, and several of his more detailed studies remain useful; for example, a detailed topographical analysis of the parish of Cadbury in Devon enabled Hoskins to argue that the majority of its farms and their boundaries originated during the Anglo-Saxon 'settlement' of Devon and that some could be earlier.⁶⁶

⁶³ Hoskins, 1952, pp.295-309 & map facing p.307.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp.298-300; *idem*, 1955, pp.43-4, 50; *idem*, 1960, pp.7-16; *cf.* Stenton *apud* Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, pp.xix-xx; Stenton, 1971, p.64. For further discussion, see chapter 4.2 below.

⁶⁵ For a useful summary of more recent ideas (with references) see Aston, 1985, pp.71ff, 81-3, 124-9 (*contra* Hoskins, 1952, pp.290-3, 297, 308-9; *idem*, 1955, pp.45-54 *et passim*).

⁶⁶ Hoskins, 1982, pp.18ff, 38-46 (a summary first written in 1967 and based on his studies in the 1950s and 1960s).

The most recent work on the correlations between the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes and those of pre-Conquest land-units has been Della Hooke's attempt to provide solutions for all of the Anglo-Saxon boundary clauses relating to Devon and Cornwall, all except one of which date from the tenth or eleventh century.⁶⁷ Of these, some remain unresolved and a few others refer to the same land-unit at different times, but there remain about thirty or so that are sufficiently well-defined to allow comparison. The general pattern suggests a high degree of correlation in Devon, with about twelve charter boundaries defining areas that correspond almost exactly to ecclesiastical parishes and a further six or seven that refer to larger or smaller land-units but significant portions of whose boundaries also appear to correspond; notably, this pattern is paralleled in the Exeter hinterland area. In Cornwall, a rather different picture emerges, with only four of the nine charter boundaries definitely showing an exact or partial correspondence to those of ecclesiastical parishes; nevertheless, several of the tenth-century Cornish charters appear to relate to existing British ecclesiastical institutions, which suggests that here at least we may have evidence for the direct adoption of British land-units into the Anglo-Saxon administrative landscape pattern.⁶⁸

Apart from the early survey by Hoskins no published study has yet examined the evidence from Devon in the light of the 'minster hypothesis', but related work on the potential antiquity of parish boundaries has been a feature of research by Susan Pearce in Devon and other south-western counties. For example, on the basis of an assessment of place-names, early Christian inscribed stones, church dedications and the topography of putative early burial grounds in north Devon, Pearce proposed a model of 'a stratified and organised British society' with a ruling élite and associated estate burial grounds; and although some aspects of her interpretation are now

⁶⁷ Hooke, 1994; see also *idem*, 1999. The exception is S 298, which is ninth-century. Hooke's 'chronological' arrangement of the material can be misleading, because many boundary clauses are of later date than that claimed for the associated charters.

⁶⁸ *idem*, 1994, pp.1, 18, 22-7, 33-7 (*re* S 450; S 810; S 1207); see also Olson, 1989, pp.64, 78-84; Insley, 1998, pp.178-9.

open to question, her basic model can be supported by other evidence.⁶⁹ She then focussed in more detail on Hartland and Braunton parishes, where two Anglo-Saxon minsters were dedicated to the British saints Nectan and Brannoc respectively. Pearce argued that the patterns of land-holding in each parish could be traced back to apparently integrated estates in royal hands in the late ninth century, and that both minsters were sited within probable early burial grounds (as were two of Hartland's chapels) and had originated as British monasteries.⁷⁰ Although Pearce conceded that conclusions 'must be drawn very cautiously', she suggested that the medieval parish boundaries of Hartland and Braunton essentially preserved those of two sixth-century secular estates with which the churches were endowed by the post-Roman British society that created them.⁷¹ The latter stages of this argument rely on the veracity of her earlier model and the continued cohesion of the estate structures that she links with early burial grounds, but Pearce certainly presents a good case for regarding the Anglo-Saxon minsters at Hartland and Braunton as having developed from, or at least on the site of, British predecessors, and this suggests a reasonable degree of institutional as well as population continuity in this part of Devon.

In a separate study focused on four areas - the Iwerne valley and the Beaminster area in Dorset, and areas along the Fosse Way and the Bristol Avon in Gloucestershire - Pearce examined a number of cases in which the site of an Anglo-Saxon minster (signifying an associated landed endowment) or proprietorial church (signifying an associated secular estate) appeared to be related to that of a known late Roman villa, temple or succeeding graveyard.⁷² She demonstrated that the use of parish boundaries as a means of identifying the secular land-units associated with such sites was generally valid, throughout her four survey areas, for the period back to at least the

⁶⁹ Pearce, 1985, pp.257-63, 272-3; cf. Gelling, 1982; Okasha, 1993 (esp. pp.5, 57); Orme, 1996, p.21; Edwards, 1996, pp.53-8; see also chapter 4.1 below.

⁷⁰ Pearce, 1985, pp.263-72; see also Abrams, 1996, pp.66-9; Coates, 1999.

⁷¹ Pearce, 1985, pp.272-4.

⁷² *idem*, 1982b, pp.117-19. Pearce uses the terms 'proprietorial church' or 'estate church' to describe an initially private church founded by a landholder to serve his or her main residence; subsequently, such churches often acquired a public role and developed to become parish churches (see e.g. Blair, 1987, pp.267-71; Morris, 1989, pp.163-7, 228-30, 248-50). Hereafter, I will use the term 'manorial chapel' to describe such churches in their pre-parochial form.

tenth century and often earlier; but her attempt to extend this to the question of possible continuity between late Roman and Anglo-Saxon sites and patterns of landscape organisation was impaired by a tendency simply to note spatial associations between features rather than trying to establish their precise relationship.⁷³ As a consequence, Pearce's conclusion that, in this region at least, the evidence suggested that 'the survival of late Roman estates was the rule rather than the exception' cannot be accepted without serious qualification, although this does not render her suggestion untenable.⁷⁴

More recently, however, Teresa Hall has challenged this aspect of Pearce's findings with respect to Dorset, pointing out that several of her site identifications are unsound while the relatively high incidence of villas in the area means that many other suggested associations cannot be regarded as significant.⁷⁵ In her own study of Anglo-Saxon minsters in Dorset, Hall uses the 'minster hypothesis' as a contextual framework and proposes a system of weighted characteristics whereby possible minsters can be identified; and although this system is not without its weaknesses, Hall's brief discussions of each putative minster and its likely original parish are usually pertinent and most of her conclusions seem to be well-founded.⁷⁶ She suggests that there were three phases and types of minster foundation in Dorset.⁷⁷ The earliest phase appeared to be closely related to that suggested by Hase with respect to Hampshire, comprising 'old minsters' founded in the late seventh and early eighth centuries by West Saxon royal initiative within topographically well-defined and often riverine estates, although possibly with a less comprehensive coverage than was apparent in Hampshire and with some evidence to suggest that existing British churches were deliberately suppressed and their estates confiscated. The

⁷³ Pearce, 1982b, pp.119-33. Pearce's reliance on Grundy's charter boundary solutions (on which see note 13 above) may also leave some of her findings open to question.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, pp.133-5.

⁷⁵ Hall, 2000, pp.21-4, 83; *cf.* Hase, 2001, who accepts this as an important corrective to his own suggestions for possible 'villa-to-church' continuity in Dorset (Hase, 1994, pp.49-50) as well as to those of Pearce.

⁷⁶ See Hall, 2000, pp.4-8, for discussion of these 'weighted characteristics'. However, some of the relative values assigned to particular attributes are potentially distorting and need to be revised (e.g. a church with a parish one-third larger than the Dorset average is accorded a value of 3 whereas its receipt of church-scot is accorded a value of only 1, the same as that for having a nave more than 50 feet long).

second phase comprised a smaller number of 'high status' churches founded through episcopal or monastic initiative between the eighth and tenth centuries, some of which may have been intended to augment the existing minster system, while in the last phase three 'new minsters' were founded in connection with the Alfredian burghal system. If this evidence for the extension of the West Saxon minster system into Dorset is correct, then it has considerable implications for developments in the Exeter hinterland area, and we will return to these at a later stage.

Finally, it is worth noting a couple of examples from Michael Costen's study of the early history of Somerset. In the area around Brent Knoll, for example, he observes that a Glastonbury charter of 693 incorporates the boundaries of six parishes (although Lesley Abrams has since observed that the boundary clause is too vague to allow exactitude here), and also preserves contemporary evidence of the transition of place-names from Primitive Welsh (or Cornish) to Old English.⁷⁸ Noting the association of a villa and possible temple site with the Glastonbury estate of Brent, together with the specifically British dedication of one of the churches within it, Costen argues that we may be seeing the direct transfer of an existing British estate into Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical ownership. In another example, and using an argument similar to that of Bonney, he suggests that where the [West] Wansdyke crosses the boundaries of the parishes of Stanton Prior and Marksbury, known to have formed part of an estate existing by at least the tenth century, we again have evidence of a possible post-Roman British estate.⁷⁹ Although stressing the dangers of 'simply assuming that the pattern visible by the mid-eleventh century can be projected backwards', Costen concludes that, despite the many subsequent changes, the underlying pattern of earlier, large-scale organisation in Somerset 'can still be seen in the landscape'.⁸⁰

* * *

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp.28-9, 40-1, 47, 77-9, 83-4.

⁷⁸ Costen, 1992, pp.46, 61-2 (citing S 238); Abrams, 1996, pp.69-72.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp.71-3.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, pp.105, 110.

It was argued in the earlier parts of this chapter that the foundation and endowment of Anglo-Saxon minsters took place within an already extant hierarchy of land-units in an organised and well-ordered landscape, and that a minster's 'original parish' was defined in relation to these existing patterns of landscape organisation. Although there is rarely the documentary evidence available for us to demonstrate these relationships in many cases, the study of the later ecclesiastical parishes and their boundaries may (although not beyond challenge, and perhaps not in every case) provide us with clues as to the configuration and development of earlier socio-economic land-units in those many areas for which all other contemporary evidence is lacking. The primary assumption underlying such an approach is that the minster and later parochial systems 'fossilised' certain aspects of the human landscape, although at which point in time that fossilisation took place - and what it fossilised - may remain subject to debate. The work of researchers such as Hase, Bassett, Pearce, Hall and Costen has demonstrated the potential value of the information derived from ecclesiastical parishes, but there remain questions as to whether the models they have proposed are applicable to areas outside those of their particular studies. It is obvious, however, that any investigation of this type needs to begin by reconstructing the local 'jigsaw' of ecclesiastical parishes. For Devon and the other south-western counties the early nineteenth-century tithe surveys, which largely pre-date the period of modern boundary reforms, covered some ninety-seven percent of the parishes - perhaps a partial compensation in a region where early documentary evidence is usually so lacking.⁸¹ The maps and documents they generated are, in effect, a potential primary source for the early medieval period, and they constitute a logical starting point for the study of the early medieval landscape and history of Exeter and its hinterland.

⁸¹ Kain *et al*, 1991, p.90. This is a far higher proportion than elsewhere in England and Wales.

Chapter 2

The recorded ecclesiastical and administrative geography of medieval Exeter and its hinterland

2.1: The tithe maps of the Exeter hinterland area.

In the previous chapter it was argued that the original parishes of Anglo-Saxon minsters and the later ecclesiastical parishes and their boundaries often fossilised certain aspects of contemporary landscape organisation at the time of their formation and that, as a consequence, the maps and documents generated by the tithe surveys are a potential primary source for the study of the early medieval landscape and history of Exeter and its hinterland. The tithe surveys originated from an Act of Parliament in 1836 aimed at resolving the ‘ambiguities and irregularities’ that had developed concerning the payment of tithes to the Church, and required that each ecclesiastical parish or tithe district affected be mapped and surveyed in considerable detail.¹ Three copies of each survey were made - one each for the Exchequer, the diocese and the parish concerned - and to accompany the large-scale maps there are ‘apportionments’ that usually identify the name, extent, ownership, agricultural usage and tithe assessment of each field; in addition, there are numerous documents generated by the administrative processes of the tithe survey itself.

The tithe surveys, therefore, are of value for more than simply establishing ecclesiastical parish boundaries as they existed before the majority of modern boundary changes were effected.² For example, Hooke and others have shown that the field-names sometimes preserve those of Anglo-Saxon charter boundary points and Costen was able to use field-names such as ‘chisels’ and ‘chester’ to locate possible Roman-period settlement sites in Somerset, while Pearce used

¹ Kain *et al.*, 1991, pp.89-90. In Devon, a ‘tithe district’ is usually coterminous with an ecclesiastical parish, although a sub-district is sometimes mapped separately (such as the tithe district of Upton [and] Weaver within Cullompton parish and that of Chilston [now Chelson] in Salcombe Regis parish); these are clearly indicated on the original tithe maps and in the descriptive index provided by Kain & Oliver, 1995, pp.127-44.

² Kain & Oliver, 2001, pp.7-9, 11.

topographical analyses of tithe maps to identify potential early Christian graveyards in north Devon.³ Indeed, it has also been suggested that the tithe surveys 'rank as the most complete record of the agrarian landscape at any period'.⁴ Yet despite being among the most frequently consulted documents held by the Public and local Record Offices, the tithe maps and apportionments are not available in published form.⁵ For the parish boundaries themselves, however, the recent computerised maps produced by Roger Kain and Richard Oliver represent a significant improvement on earlier attempts to provide a reliable standard reference work.⁶ Nevertheless, some details are too small to be depicted accurately at the map scale used by Kain and Oliver (the parish boundaries are plotted against scanned images of Ordnance Survey one-inch maps), while much useful contextual information - such as the relationship between parish boundaries and the field pattern surviving in the early nineteenth century - is necessarily lost.

For the present study, the details of the early nineteenth-century parochial geography (see Fig. 2.1) have been derived mainly from the original tithe maps in the Devon Record Office. However, the maps are of variable quality in terms of both their original production and their present state; they were rarely drawn on high quality paper and, despite conservation efforts, many are beginning to break up.⁷ Much of the damage is currently confined to the edges of maps, but some information is being lost: the southern part of Topsham parish and the central part of Bradninch, for example, are no longer fully decipherable. Where such damage obscures the parish boundary, this can usually be rectified by referring to adjacent tithe maps; this approach has also

³ Hooke, 1994, *passim*; Costen, 1992, p.35 and fig.2.4; Pearce, 1985, pp.258-63.

⁴ Kain *et al.*, 1991, p.92.

⁵ The black-and-white microfiche copies of the tithe maps, produced some 20 years ago, are of poor quality and very time-consuming and frustrating to use, while the Public Record Office's [hereafter PRO] plans to produce a new colour microfiche of the 'best copy' maps (whether Exchequer, diocese or parish) are still some years from fruition. Locally, the Tithe Apportionment Project at the Devon Record Office [hereafter DRO] is currently transcribing all the apportionment information relating to Devon parishes onto computer.

⁶ Kain & Oliver, 2001, pp.17-19. For Devon, this supersedes previous maps of the early nineteenth-century parish boundaries, but some errors persist: e.g. the outlier of Clyst St Lawrence at Sherway is omitted (see Fig. 2.1 no.21; compare DRO Clyst St Lawrence tithe map (1844) [=PRO IR 30/9/122] with Kain & Oliver, 2001, map NP 176:9/243). These errors result from an over-reliance on the boundaries given by PRO IR 105 and the *Index to Tithe Survey*, rather than those of the original tithe maps: see Kain & Oliver, 1995, pp.17, 827-30; *idem*, 2001, pp.22-4, 27-9.

⁷ This despite the fact that 20% of Devon's tithe maps were sanctioned as 'first class', considerably higher than the national average of only 12%: Kain & Oliver, 1995, pp.122, 711.

Figure 2.1: Ecclesiastical parishes in Exeter's hinterland as recorded by the nineteenth-century tithe surveys

(Note: scale of main map as for Figure 1.1)

Key to parish abbreviations:

Bl	Blackborough
BN	Broadnymet
BS	Brampford Speke
Bu	Butterleigh
Cl	Clannaborough
CM	Clyst St Mary
Co	Combeinteignhead
Do	Doddiscombsleigh
Dt	Dotton (extra-parochial)
Du	Dunchideock
ET	East Teignmouth
Ha	Haccombe
Hi	Hittisleigh
HT	Exeter Holy Trinity
Hu	Huxham
Ke	Kennerleigh
NR	Nymet Rowland
SE	Exeter St Edmund
Sh	Shillingford St George
SM	Exeter St Mary Steps
SN	St Nicholas Shaldon
SS	Exeter St Sidwell
St	Stokeinteignhead
TG	Teigngrace
UH	Upton Hellions
Wl	Wolborough
WO	West Ogwell
WT	West Teignmouth
ZM	Zeal Monachorum

Key to parochial outliers:

1	Appledore	4	Bramble	15	Knowle
2	Barracks	5	Bystock	16	Oldridge
3	Bradley	6	Coombe	17	Pepperdon
		7	Cowley	18	Perridge
		8	Cutteridge	19	Rocombe
		9	Emlett	20	Sanduck
		10	Henland	21	Sherway
		11	Hook	22	Slade
		12	Houndbeare	23	Thornbury
		13	Kelly	24	Warren
		14	Kiddens		



been used for Nether Exe (for which no tithe map was ever made) and for maps now classed as 'unfit for production', such as those for Down St Mary, Awliscombe and the south-western part of Crediton, together with those for Exeter St Mary Steps and Exeter Holy Trinity (where only tithable properties rather than the whole parish were mapped). Where adjacent maps have suffered damage, however, such cross-checks are not possible; these instances are fortunately few, and the lacunae have been filled by reference to the maps published by Kain and Oliver.⁸

There remain occasional 'anomalies' even where all the relevant tithe maps survive intact, such as the omission of a small area of common meadow in Broadclyst parish at its junction with the parishes of Pinhoe and Clyst Honiton.⁹ More typically, the same field may be included by two adjacent maps, as occurs on the boundary between Ashton and Kenn. A unique problem is that of the boundary between the parishes of St Nicholas Shaldon and Stokeinteignhead, where intermingled and detached fields render mapping impossible at the scale used here; the 'boundary' marked with a dashed line on Figure 2.1 is that of the outer limit of those fields lying within Shaldon.¹⁰ These and other omissions due to scale - such as a single field in Teigngrace parish that actually belongs to Highweek, and a mill and a tenement in Sowton parish that belong to Farringdon - are noted, where relevant, in the more detailed studies in chapter three.

Nevertheless, the composite map of the early nineteenth-century ecclesiastical parishes in the Exeter hinterland survey area can be considered sufficiently accurate for the purposes for which they will be used in the present chapter. But to what extent can it also be said to represent the medieval parochial geography? It has often been argued that the increasing influence of papal reforms and developments in canon law regarding parish churches and tithes during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries had the effect of 'crystallising' the parochial structure and

⁸ Note that the tithe surveys did not cover Exeter's intramural parishes and that these are omitted from Figure 2.1. They are discussed briefly in chapter 3.2 below; see also Hoskins, 1957, pp.x-xiii; Allan *et al.*, 1984, p.399.

⁹ Similarly, the tithe map for the district of Chilston in Salcombe Regis parish omits an area of common on the boundary with Sidbury; the tithe map for Throwleigh parish omits common land and waste on Dartmoor.

¹⁰ To a lesser extent, this is a problem that affects all the 'Teignhead' parishes; it is also a feature of the boundaries between Awliscombe, Buckerell and Gittisham parishes. The possible reasons underlying these complex boundaries are discussed in chapter 3.3 (at pp.167-77) and 3.4 (at p.196 note 441) below.

made it much more difficult to modify existing parish boundaries.¹¹ In addition, many of the studies relating to south-western Britain considered in the previous chapter tended to demonstrate or imply that there was a substantial degree of stability in parochial boundaries once formed. This is certainly the impression given by the correlations between parish boundaries and those given in Anglo-Saxon charters relating to the Exeter hinterland area; and although there is evidence to suggest that the intramural parishes of Exeter were delimited by bishop Simon of Apulia in 1222, there is by contrast (albeit *ex silentio*) no evidence for widespread changes to the rural parochial structure among the twelfth- and thirteenth-century episcopal acta or in the episcopal registers for the Exeter diocese, which survive for the periods from 1258 to c.1288 and from 1308 onwards.¹² What this does not allow for, however, is the possibility that the surviving Anglo-Saxon charters, which tend to relate to lands held by the bishop or the cathedral that might prove less susceptible to later changes, may be unrepresentative and that elsewhere there were in fact significant modifications to parochial geography, particularly in the periods following the Black Death and the Reformation. To address this possibility, we need to consider a record of late thirteenth-century clerical taxation that represents the earliest surviving survey of all the parish churches in the Exeter hinterland area.¹³

2.2: The *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291-2.¹⁴

In March 1291 Pope Nicholas IV instigated a papal tax to aid Edward I's intended crusade, whereby Edward would receive a tenth of all the ecclesiastical income, based upon a new valuation, from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland for a period of six years. The bishops of

¹¹ e.g. Brooke, 1982, pp.696-7; Blair, 1988, pp.10, 14-15; Morris, 1989, pp.169-71; see also Addleshaw, 1956, pp.3-6.

¹² For Exeter's intramural parishes, see Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.10-11; for the episcopal acta, see Barlow, 1996a; *idem*, 1996b; for the episcopal registers (and references to the published editions), see Smith, 1981, pp.76-8. The lists of church dedications associated with the early years of bishop Bronescombe's episcopacy (1257-1280) represent the rededication of existing churches rather than of parish churches established *de novo*. Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.66-7; *cf. idem*, 1892, pp.134-5, 138, and see discussions of individual churches in chapter 3, below.

¹³ The separate question of whether there were minor changes to existing parish boundaries is addressed below.

¹⁴ An earlier version of this section was presented as a paper to the Medieval Postgraduate Research Seminar at the University of Birmingham in November 1999, and I have benefited from the discussions that followed.

Lincoln and Winchester were appointed as the English collectors, under whose guidance the initial assessment of 'spiritualities' was completed by January 1292 and that of 'temporalities' soon after April 1292.¹⁵ After three years the levy was suspended until October 1300, and after a fourth year's collection the tax was effectively superseded by the triennial tenth granted by Boniface VIII in 1301.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the valuation of 1291-2 [hereafter referred to as the *Taxatio*] became the basis for all subsequent taxation of the English clergy until the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535.¹⁷

Such clerical taxation was not new and had increased steadily throughout the thirteenth century. During Edward's reign, for example, clerical tenths for the king's benefit were raised by papal mandate in 1272 and 1301, papal sexennial tenths were required from 1274 and 1291, and the king himself taxed clerical incomes eight times during the same period.¹⁸ However, the surviving portions of earlier assessments, such as the 1254 'Norwich valuation' and another in 1276, do not include the Exeter diocese, even though copies of the latter were made by the archdeacon of Exeter on behalf of Geoffrey de Vezzano, the resident papal collector, in 1291.¹⁹ Although there are occasional references to 'ancient valuations' in the early episcopal registers, the *Taxatio* is the only thirteenth-century ecclesiastical assessment of the Exeter diocese to have survived.

The papal bull of March 1291 had detailed the procedures to be followed in making the *Taxatio*, and members of the local clergy, appointed as assessors by their bishop, provided the returns from which the collectors determined the levy to be collected by their deputies in each diocese.²⁰ However, numerous protests at the initial valuation led to reassessments in some cases, which were underway by May 1292, while some errors were still being corrected in 1297 and even after

¹⁵ Lunt, 1916, p.102 & n9; *idem*, 1939, p.348. For the distinction between 'spiritualities' and 'temporalities', see below.

¹⁶ *idem*, 1916, pp.103-5. No attempt was made to collect the remaining two years of the sexennial tenth.

¹⁷ There was, however, a partial reassessment of the province of York in 1318.

¹⁸ Deighton, 1953, pp.161-2, 169-71.

¹⁹ Lunt, 1926, pp.95-7, 99; Denton, 1993, p.233 and n14. A figure of £380 for the total of the tenth for the Exeter diocese in 1254 is however preserved in Harleian MS 6602, fo.138v, a transcript made in 1739 of a fourteenth-century Titchfield cartulary: Lunt, 1926, p.95 n1.

²⁰ Lunt, 1939, pp.349, 452-3; Denton, 1993, p.237. The names of the local assessors for the Exeter diocese in 1291-2 are unrecorded, although the dean and chapter of Exeter are noted as the deputy collectors: Lunt, 1939, pp.631-2.

the sexennial tenth had ceased to be collected.²¹ Furthermore, in 1294 Edward I demanded a clerical moiety based upon the *Taxatio* (even though the Exchequer did not obtain a copy from the papal collectors until at least December 1294), and the tax threshold of ten marks for this moiety necessitated revised lists of minor benefices in most dioceses because the *Taxatio* had a threshold of six marks (the inclusion of benefices valued below this in the *Taxatio* for the Exeter diocese is unusual); a threshold of only two marks for the papal triennial tenth of 1301 created similar problems.²² Although the Exchequer's copy of the *Taxatio* was collated with the papal copy in 1297, both versions were subsequently revised and altered independently; in addition, most bishops appear to have had copies of at least the portion relating to their diocese, and many religious houses and other taxpayers possessed certified copies of their own assessments.²³

The result is that a complex corpus of more than 180 known copies or partial copies of the *Taxatio* survive, of which thirteen contain extensive versions of the whole assessment of spiritualities and have been classified by Jeffrey Denton into three groups that he terms the Exchequer, the papal and the diocesan.²⁴ The 'Exchequer group' derive from the rolls sent there soon after December 1294; the 'papal group' derive from those held by the collectors of the sexennial tenth; and the 'diocesan group' appear to derive from a single collection of early diocesan assessment rolls dating from c.1300. Until Denton and his team complete a new edition, however, the only printed version of the entire *Taxatio* is that published by the Record Commission in 1802, which was based on only three of these main texts - two later medieval Exchequer transcripts (PA and PB) collated with an earlier papal version (BC) and a few early

²¹ *ibid.*, pp.350, 352.

²² *idem*, 1926, p.169 n5; *idem*, 1939, p.354; Deighton, 1953, pp.172-5, 177; Davnall *et al.*, 1992, pp.95-6; Denton, 1993, pp.233 n14, 244-5. A 'benefice' usually comprised either a church (or a moiety thereof) and its endowments or an ecclesiastical office and its endowments: see Addleshaw, 1956, pp.9-11.

²³ Lunt, 1939, pp.354-5.

²⁴ Denton, 1997, pp.69-70, 72ff. Using Denton's *sigla* for the various manuscripts, which will be adopted hereafter, the Exchequer group comprise **PA** (PRO, E164/14), **PB** (PRO, E164/13), **PC** (PRO, C270/16), **WC** (Winchester College Fellows' Library, MS 38), **CM** (Canterbury Dean and Chapter, Register M) and **OE** (Oxford Bodleian Library, e Musaeo 21); the papal group comprise **BC** (BL Cotton MS Tiberius C x), **BA** (BL MS Additional 24060), **OH** (Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 89) and **SC** (Stonyhurst College Library, MS 22); and the diocesan group comprise **CU** (Cambridge University Library, MS Mm.3.17), **LA** (Lincoln Dean and Chapter, A/1/11) and **LF** (Lichfield Cathedral Library, MS 23).

Exchequer rolls - and included many alterations, accretions and revisions originating from 1294 and later.²⁵

Denton suggests that Exeter is one of the dioceses for which the 1802 edition cannot be accepted as a core text,²⁶ although apart from the thirteen manuscripts containing complete or nearly complete copies of the *Taxatio*, only two other copies relating to the whole diocese were noted by Lunt, together with a single surviving Exchequer roll recording spiritualities in the archdeaconry of Cornwall and a partial copy relating to Plympton Priory.²⁷ The most important of these is a copy that was in the possession of an episcopal official, David Aunselin, at some point prior to 1332 and was later bound together with the registers of bishops Bronescombe (1258-1280) and Quinel (1280-1291) as a single volume annotated by bishop Grandisson (1327-1369).²⁸ It is not clear when this 'Aunselin text' was written, but Hingeston-Randolph suggested that it was a nearly contemporary copy of the *Taxatio* because the name of one Chulmleigh prebendary, John de Broclonde, had been amended to *nunc Fromonde* in a later hand and presumably referred to Robert Fromund, who was instituted to a Chulmleigh prebend in 1293.²⁹ What is important for present purposes is that it is a more accurate and reliable version of the *Taxatio* for the Exeter diocese than that printed by the Record Commission.³⁰ Where there are

²⁵ Davnall, *et al.*, 1992, pp.89-90, 93; Denton, 1997, pp.68-9.

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp.70, 76-7. Unfortunately Denton does not detail the reasons for his judgement on this point.

²⁷ Lunt, 1939, pp.667, 669, 671, 674; Denton, 1993, p.245. The two full copies are the Aunselin text (discussed below) and BL Additional MS 24057, fols. 88-107v, which is a fifteenth-century copy; the Exchequer roll relating to Cornwall is PRO E179/24/1; and the Plympton assessment was printed in Oliver, 1846, p.145. Lunt was not aware of a version copied into bishop Grandisson's register in c.1333: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1894, p.546 n2, who notes that 'it is very imperfect', and that 'large portions of the Taxation are omitted, including the whole of Cornwall'.

²⁸ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.vii, xviii. The volume is now DRO, Exeter diocesan records, Chanter catalogue 1; the Aunselin text is on fols. 142r-162v: see Smith, 1981, pp.77-8. The edition is that by Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, Appendix II, pp.450-80 (an amalgamated version of the Record Commission and Aunselin texts was printed by Oliver, 1846, Appendix K, pp.456-71, but contains numerous errors). For the career of David Aunselin, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, pp.37, 581; *idem*, 1894, pp.191-2, 523, 540-1, 599; *idem*, 1899, pp.1312, 1322, 1622 n6.

²⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.450, 464, 480, but the evidence is not as conclusive as he appears to suggest. Both the Record Commission and the Aunselin texts also note, without amendment, a Chulmleigh prebend held by Adam de Segrave: Astle *et al.*, 1802, p.147a; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.464. The episcopal registers show that John de Broclonde was admitted to a new Chulmleigh prebend in April 1260, and that Adam de Segrave, instituted in February 1280, was third in succession to de Broclonde's previous prebend there (*ibid.*, pp.123-4); Robert Fromund was presented to his prebend in April 1293 following the death of Adam de Segrave, not John de Broclonde, and was still a prebendary of Chulmleigh in September 1310 (*ibid.*, pp.414, 491). Despite these difficulties, however, the text must surely have been amended whilst Fromund was still alive.

³⁰ A conclusion also reached by Orme, 1999, p.219.

differences between the two versions, therefore, it is the 'Aunselin' reading that has been adopted here, although when the new edition of the *Taxatio* is completed it is possible that some details may need revision.³¹

* * *

The establishment of a reliable text is not the only difficulty affecting the data preserved in the *Taxatio*, however, because the contemporary description *verus valor* does not necessarily mean that it was indeed a 'true assessment' of the income of religious houses and ecclesiastical benefices.³² In theory, the spiritualities represented the incomes directly pertaining to a particular church, which comprised not only the tithes, burial fees, oblations and similar payments but also the revenues from the glebe and, in the case of monastic churches, any lands that were held in perpetual alms; their assessment was probably based upon a low estimate of the amount at which the benefice could have been farmed.³³ By contrast, the temporalities represented the more general incomes from manors, tenements, mills and markets in ecclesiastical possession; they were regarded as being roughly synonymous with secular fees and were assessed on the basis of a probably minimal rental value.³⁴ In practice, however, even contemporaries may have found it difficult to distinguish between the 'spiritual' and 'temporal' revenues of many cathedral churches and monasteries, and it is not surprising that some prebendal and monastic revenues could be confused or even omitted by the *Taxatio*.³⁵

However, for the vast majority of parish churches - even those appropriated to an ecclesiastical institution - this distinction is not a problem because very few had 'temporal' possessions,

³¹ Apart from a few omissions, variations in both the valuations and the place-name spellings for some entries and in the order of the archdeaconries, the main difference is that the 1802 edition includes two separate lists of those benefices in Devon not held in plurality that do not exceed ten marks or six marks in value (these perhaps originated in connection with the royal taxes collected in 1294-5 and 1296-7; it is notable that the 'six mark' list appears to have fewer errors in the place-names), whereas these lists are absent from the Aunselin text.

³² Graham, 1908, pp.434, 440. Pope Nicholas IV had agreed with Edward I that 'the tenths should be taken *iuxta verum valorem*', and the phrase *secundum verum valorem* occurs in the title of the Aunselin text.

³³ Graham, 1908, p.446; Lunt, 1926, p.78; Denton, 1993, p.235.

³⁴ Graham, 1908, p.450; Lunt, 1926, p.79.

³⁵ Lunt, 1926, pp.72ff, 75; Davnall *et al*, 1992, p.90; Denton, 1993, p.235.

although sometimes another ecclesiastical institution might have a right to a share of the spiritualities of a church. The *Taxatio* usually records these in a separate entry as either a ‘portion’ (a variable amount that often represented the leasing of part or all of a church’s tithes) or a ‘pension’ (a fixed payment that probably represented a permanent surrendering of the tithes), but again these distinctions were not always observed.³⁶ In addition, although the valuation of a church was supposed to include any vicarage (because this represents a share of that church’s endowment, even though it might be regarded as a separate benefice), in practice they were often treated separately with the result that one or both of them fell below the tax threshold and might not be recorded.³⁷ Finally, certain institutions were exempt from taxation, and these included all possessions of the Templars and Hospitallers as well as the rents and revenues of leper houses and hospitals.³⁸

Yet despite these potential difficulties, it should also be pointed out that there are fewer problems in Exeter than in most other dioceses. This is mainly because the unusually thorough returns for the Exeter diocese included not only the taxable benefices but also those that fell below the tax threshold; and although there are inevitably some lacunae, nearly all of these can be satisfied or explained by reference to the data from other contemporary sources. Furthermore, because even small vicarages were recorded, we can be far more confident in our ability to recombine the various vicarages, portions and pensions to give a total valuation for each church. For present purposes, therefore, the *Taxatio* provides the basis for the most complete picture possible of the later medieval parochial system of the Exeter hinterland area.

* * *

The first, and perhaps most obvious, point to be made is that when the *Taxatio* data for Exeter’s hinterland are mapped together with the parishes already established by reference to the tithe

³⁶ Lunt, 1926, p.239 & n45.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 238; Addleshaw, 1956, pp.12-14.

³⁸ Lunt, 1926, pp.233, 237-8.

maps, there is a very high degree of spatial correlation between them (see Fig. 2.2).³⁹ With the exception of the city of Exeter itself, each parish tends to contain one - and only one - of the one hundred and thirty-seven benefices described by the *Taxatio* as a church or, less commonly, a chapel.⁴⁰ Although a church is recorded for the extra-parochial manor of Dotton, only at Oldridge, the outlier of St Thomas the Apostle parish, does the *Taxatio* certainly record a second church within another church's nineteenth-century parish.⁴¹ Similarly, only seventeen parishes do not contain a church recorded in the *Taxatio*, of which thirteen - representing less than ten percent of the total number of parishes - can be identified as chapelries of recorded churches from other contemporary references; their values were presumably included in the assessment of the named church.⁴² In each of the remaining four parishes - Bishopsteignton, Nymet Roland, Upton Hellions and Woodbury - there was a church by c.1200, and all except perhaps Nymet Roland were benefices at the time of the *Taxatio*.⁴³ It may be that the appropriation of Woodbury church to the twenty-four 'vicars choral' of Exeter cathedral meant that each vicar's share fell

³⁹ The *Taxatio* data cited in the following discussion are taken from Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.451-7, 459, 461-2, 465-6 (the 'Aunselin text'), with reference to Astle *et al*, 1802, pp.143-6, 149-50 (the Record Commission edition). See also Orme, 1999, pp.212-13 (published since the present section was first drafted), who reaches similar conclusions.

⁴⁰ The status of Exeter's numerous chapels is discussed by Rose-Troup, 1923; see also chapter 3.2 below.
















⁴¹ The Record Commission edition also records the chapel of 'Clyst Sechevill' [i.e. the chapel of St Gabriel at Bishopsclyst in Farringdon parish, rebuilt at a new site in the part of Sowton parish to the east of the Clyst in the early fourteenth century: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1897, pp.1210-11] in the main text and in the additional lists of benefices that did not exceed ten or six marks in value: Astle *et al*, 1802, pp.144, 155, 157. However, it does not occur in the 'Aunselin text' (Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.456) and did not possess parochial status.

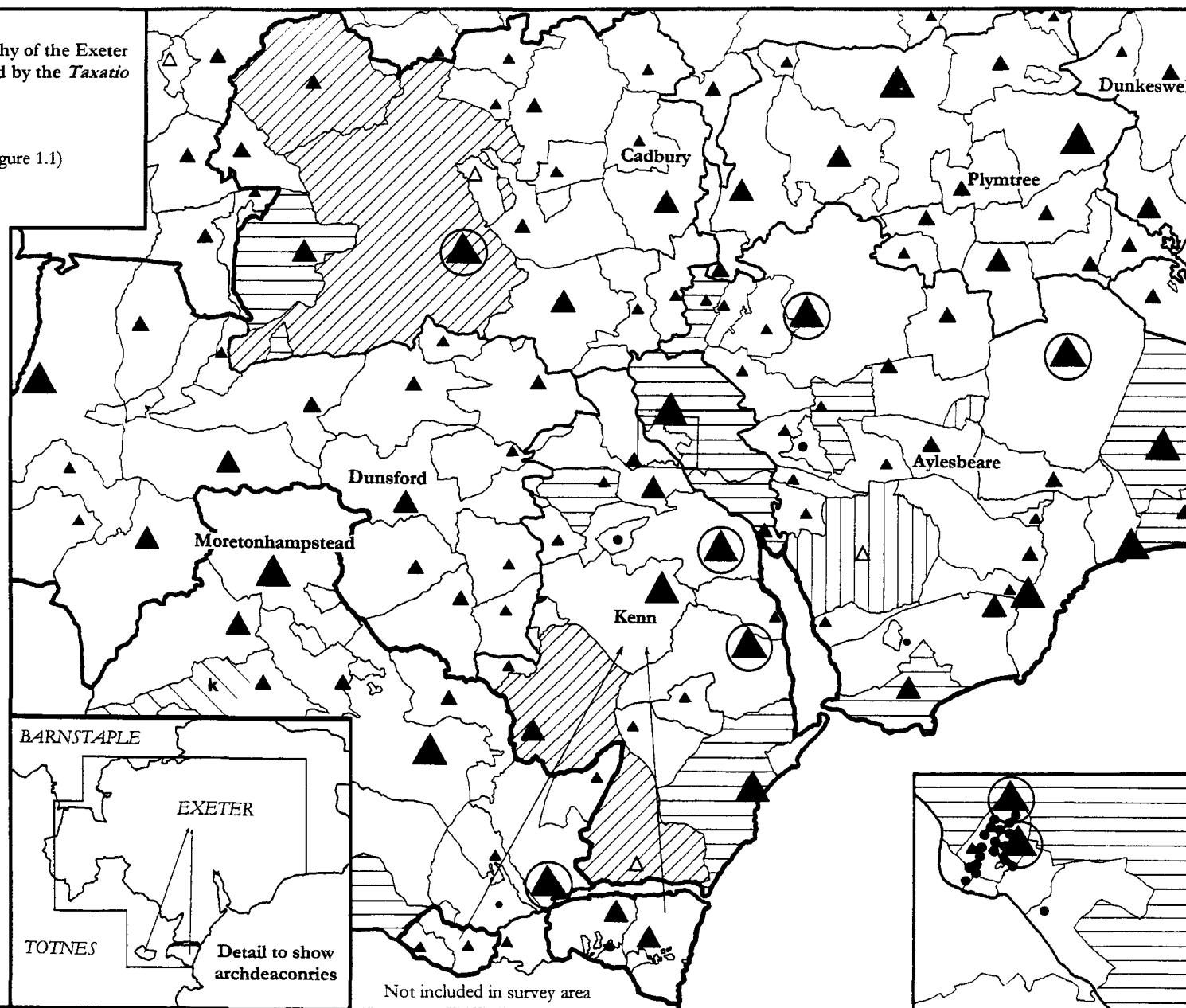
⁴² See the detailed discussions in chapter 3 below. Bickington was a chapel of Ashburton (which lies outside the Exeter hinterland survey area); Broadnymet was a chapel of North Tawton; Highweek was a chapel (noted but unnamed in the *Taxatio*) of Kingsteignton; Kennerleigh and Sandford were chapels of Crediton; Netherexe was a chapel of Brampford Speke; St Nicholas Shaldon was a chapel of (probably) Stokeinteignhead; East and West Teignmouth were chapels of Dawlish and Bishopsteignton respectively; Venn Ottery was a chapel of Harpford; Withycombe Raleigh was a chapel (noted in the *Taxatio*, but unnamed in the 'Aunselin text') of East Budleigh. Exeter St David and Exeter St Sidwell were usually regarded as chapels of Heavitree by the late thirteenth century (see Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.126; *idem*, 1889, pp.76-7; Orme, 1991c, p.123; *cf.* Barlow, 1996b, pp.172-4. no.190), but in the *Taxatio* Exeter St Sidwell seems to have been regarded as the mother church, which implies that Exeter St David and Heavitree were omitted because they were effectively chapels of Exeter St Sidwell; this is discussed further in chapter 3.2.2 below (at pp.136-41). The parish boundaries between the chapelries noted here and their mother churches have been excluded from Fig. 2.2.

⁴³ Woodbury church is mentioned in Domesday Book, and Norman fabric survives at each of the other three churches: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,33; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.185, 606-7, 883-4. For Woodbury, see Barlow, 1996b, pp.178-9 no.198; for Bishopsteignton, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.114-15; *idem*, 1894, pp.103-4 no.15; for Nymet Roland, see *idem*, 1899, p.1410; Maxwell-Lyte, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31 (at p.27); *idem*, 1921, pp.206-7 no.241; for Upton Hellions, see *idem*, 1889, pp.279-80; Reichel, 1912a, p.186 no.374.

Figure 2.2: The ecclesiastical geography of the Exeter hinterland area as recorded by the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291-2

(Note: scale of main map as for Figure 1.1)

-  Church, value £16+
-  Church, value £12+
-  Church, value £8+
-  Church, value £4+
-  Church, value <£4
-  Chapel, value <£4
-  Known contemporary parish church omitted by the *Taxatio*
-  Parish boundary (from tithe maps)
-  Rural deanery boundary
- Kenn** *caput* of rural deanery
-  Outlier of rural deanery
-  Archdeaconry boundary
-  Peculiar of the bishop of Exeter
-  Peculiar of the dean & chapter of Exeter cathedral
-  Peculiar of the vicars choral of Exeter cathedral
-  Tithing of Kenton parish within Manaton parish



below the tax threshold, but the omission of the other three churches - most notably Bishopsteignton, which was one of the churches held by the bishop - remains unexplained.

Notwithstanding these few omissions, however, the unavoidable impression given by the *Taxatio* data for the Exeter hinterland area is that the parochial system recorded by the tithe surveys in the nineteenth century was already in existence by the late thirteenth century and had been so for some time previously. To some extent this simply confirms in a local context a situation that many researchers have argued or assumed to obtain in other parts of the country, and perhaps the only surprising feature is the high degree of parochial stability in later centuries.⁴⁴ Although a few chapelries acquired parochial independence only at a later date and there is one instance of a church (Oldridge) that eventually lost its parochial status, it does not appear that there was significant amalgamation, division or reorganisation of parishes subsequent to the *Taxatio*, even in the period following the Black Death.⁴⁵

Obviously, the lack of significant changes to the overall and interlocking pattern of ecclesiastical parishes does not prove that their boundaries remained unaltered, but it does suggest that any modifications to parish boundaries between the late thirteenth and early nineteenth centuries are likely to have been minor rather than major ones. This relative stability also suggests that the correlations between parish boundaries and those of the handful of surviving tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon charters are indeed likely to be representative of a more general trend, particularly as this stability seems to include the parochial outliers recorded by the tithe surveys as well as the main bodies of the parishes themselves. For example, the outliers of Cullompton parish at Henland and of Kenton parish at Warren both appear to have originated before the late eleventh century, while Kenton's possession of a tithing in Manaton parish, noted by the *Taxatio* but not apparently constituting a parochial outlier, may also

⁴⁴ See e.g. Morris, 1985, pp.49-51; *idem*, 1989, pp.169-71, 233-4.

⁴⁵ This may in part be the result of a deliberate policy. I owe this suggestion to Professor Robert Swanson, who pointed out (*pers. comm.*, October 1999) that the remarkably high survival rate among the area's low-value parishes may be linked to 'what appears to be a localised distribution of *compulsoria* [letters requiring clerics to serve cures that were not financially viable] in the pre-Reformation decades.'

have had pre-Conquest origins and certainly survived until the early eighteenth century.⁴⁶ Indeed, the tithings that constituted internal divisions within many parishes may have been as stable as the parishes themselves: the chapel of Sandford did not become parochially independent of Crediton church until long after the time of the *Taxatio*, yet its parish and tithing boundaries as recorded in the nineteenth century appear to preserve those of the two Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Sandford.⁴⁷ Although we cannot assume that this apparently high degree of continuity and preservation has obtained in every case, the accumulated evidence strongly suggests that the majority of the parochial boundaries recorded by the tithe surveys within Exeter's hinterland were already in existence by at least the mid-thirteenth century and that many of these boundaries are likely to be closely related to conceptual boundaries that existed by the late eleventh century.

Another feature of medieval ecclesiastical organisation for which the *Taxatio* provides us with our earliest clear information is the division of the Exeter diocese into archdeaconries and rural deaneries.⁴⁸ The office of archdeacon originated in the late eleventh century as a member of the Exeter cathedral chapter who acted as the senior episcopal delegate, but in the late 1120s (and certainly before 1133) William de Warelwast - himself apparently archdeacon of Exeter before he became its bishop in 1107 - reorganised the diocese into the four territorial archdeaconries of Exeter, Totnes, Barnstaple and Cornwall.⁴⁹ The boundaries of these archdeaconries appear to be closely related to the contemporary hundredal structure, in that they each mainly comprise the parishes lying within discrete groupings of hundreds, and this is a feature to which we will return

⁴⁶ For Cullompton's parochial outlier at Henland, see DRO Cullompton tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/145]; Searle, 1980, pp.80-3. For Kenton's parochial outlier at [Dawlish] Warren and the tithing of Challacombe in Manaton parish belonging to Kenton, see S 1003; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.161 n*, 164 & n*; Astle *et al*, 1802, p.150; DRO Kenton tithe map (1840) [=PRO IR 30/9/241]; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.459; Hooke, 1994, pp.203-7; Barlow, 1996b, pp.263-4 no.290 [where *Evetruwe* refers to Heatree near Challacombe, not to Heavitree near Exeter: cf. Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.482]. Similar examples are discussed at greater length in chapter 3, below.

⁴⁷ S 405; S 890; DRO Sandford tithe map (c.1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/357]; Dunstan, 1966, p.41-2; Youngs, 1979, p.82; Hooke, 1994, pp.117-22, 181-4; see also chapter 3.2 below (at pp.84-6 & note 84).

⁴⁸ A third feature comprised the 'peculiars', or areas of special jurisdiction belonging to the bishop, the cathedral chapter and other ecclesiastical institutions. Although these are shown on Fig. 2.2, they are less reliably recorded by the *Taxatio* and are of less relevance to the present discussion: see Barlow, 1996a, p.xxx; Orme, 1991b, p.54; *idem*, 1999, p.212-13.

⁴⁹ Blake, 1972, pp.26-7; Barlow, 1996a, pp.xxix, xxxiii, liv-lvi, lix-lx, 12-15 nos.13 & 15; *idem*, 1996b, pp.306-11; see also the comments by Kemp, 2001, pp.xxxiv-xxxv, on the introduction of territorial designations.

at a later stage.⁵⁰ From the mid-1150s onwards a second tier of episcopal officials called ‘deans’ begin to appear in witness-lists, some of whom are identified simply by name while others are also identified by reference to particular locations.⁵¹ They are apparently the officials later known as ‘rural deans’, who served or represented territorial subdivisions of the archdeaconries, but it is not known how or when these subdivisions developed to become the ‘rural deaneries’ recorded in the *Taxatio*. For example, ‘Osbert dean of Langtree’ witnessed two charters relating to lands in north-west Devon in 1177x1184, while a co-witness ‘Gilbert dean’ in the first of these is probably the same as the ‘Gilbert dean of Virginstow’ who witnessed a contemporary charter relating to Tavistock abbey; yet neither Langtree nor Virginstow was later regarded as the *caput* of a rural deanery.⁵² One possible explanation is that the office of rural dean originated as an appointment *ad hominem* and that defined territorial jurisdictions coalesced only at a later stage, which might also explain why the rural deaneries were less obviously related to the hundredal structure than were the archdeaconries. In any event, the occurrence in c.1200 of Roger ‘dean of Offwell’, which lay in the rural deanery of Honiton at the time of the *Taxatio*, suggests that the rural deaneries had not yet reached their final form by the beginning of the thirteenth century and that *prima facie* they may not have been related to earlier large-scale units of landscape organisation.⁵³

* * *

It is apparent that the data preserved in the *Taxatio* of 1291-2, if used in conjunction with the nineteenth-century tithe maps and augmented by information from other sources, enable us to reconstruct a map of medieval parochial geography that reflects, albeit not in all points of detail, a

⁵⁰ Compare the ‘Archdeaconries’ inset in Fig. 2.2 with the ‘Hundreds’ inset in Fig. 2.5 (the hundredal geography is discussed in section 2.3 below).

⁵¹ e.g. Andrew de Petherwin, Bartholomew and Roger witness together as ‘deans’ in 1158x1160 and alongside ‘Ralph dean of Cornwall’ in 1155x1160: Barlow, 1996a, pp.xxix-x, 59-61 nos.73-4; note Kemp, 2001, p.32 no.43. The ‘Algar dean’ who occurs in 1155 and c.1161 may represent the ‘deanery of Christianity’ that constituted the city of Exeter itself: see Weaver, 1909, p.161 no.291; Rose-Troup, 1923, p.16; Barlow, 1996a, p.lxii [as elsewhere, the identification is suggested by Barlow in the index (*idem*, 1996b, pp.323-50) rather than in the notes]; cf. Franklin, 1992, pp.191-2.

⁵² Weaver, 1909, pp.159 no.285, 163-4 no.298; Barlow, 1996a, pp.123-4 no.134. According to the *Taxatio*, Langtree lay within the rural deanery of Torrington in 1291-2, while Virginstow would have lain within the rural deanery of Tavistock: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.458, 462-3; cf. Caley, 1814, p.386.

⁵³ Hobbs, 1998, p.22 no.84; cf. Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.455.

pattern of landscape organisation that existed within the Exeter hinterland survey area by at least the mid-thirteenth century and many elements of which originated in the pre-Conquest period. In addition, the *Taxatio* provides a rough measure of institutional status by its use of the contemporary labels 'church' or 'chapel'. However, it also provides a more subtle and quantifiable measure of relative status because its primary function was to assess the value of each benefice. The total values recorded for each church, including any vicarage, portion, pension or similar share of the spiritualities thereof, can provide a good impression of the range and distribution of church values within the Exeter hinterland area (see Fig. 2.3 and Appendix I).⁵⁴ It is immediately apparent that of the one hundred and thirty-seven churches and chapels recorded by the *Taxatio*, about half of them had valuations below the 1291 tax threshold of £4 (i.e. six marks) and that only about one-eighth of them were valued at £12 or more; this distribution is emphasised by the fact that although the average value was £6 7s 10d, the median value was only £4 5s.

A comparison between these results and the overall figures produced by Hall for Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire is revealing.⁵⁵ For example, although more than half of the churches in Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire had valuations of £10 or more, this applied to only about one-third of the churches in Devon and Dorset, while in Exeter's hinterland this ratio dropped to below one-fifth of the churches and chapels recorded by the *Taxatio*. Admittedly, these results are distorted by the unusually high proportion of low-value churches and chapels included in the *Taxatio* survey for Devon; but even when viewed in absolute terms the contrasts are striking, with only eighteen churches in Devon (including six in the Exeter hinterland area) being valued at more than £20 in comparison to the corresponding

⁵⁴ Appendix I summarises the *Taxatio* assessments for each of the churches within the Exeter hinterland survey area (derived from Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.451-7, 459, 461-2, 465-6, with reference to Astle *et al*, 1802, pp.143-6, 149-50), ranked in order of their total valuations; this information has also been used to determine the symbols used in Fig. 2.2.

⁵⁵ Hall, 2000, p.5 table 1. To allow direct comparison with Hall's figures, the breakdown of the Exeter hinterland data according to her categories (with rounding to the nearest integer value) is as follows: valuation £0-£4 = 52%; £5-£9 = 30%; £10-£14 = 9%; £15-£19 = 5%; £20-£24 = 1½%; £25-£29 = ½%; £30+ = 2%. However, Hall's figures for Devon are in need of revision: her total of 50 churches for the £0-£4 category is exceeded by the corresponding figure of 71 (49 churches and 22 chapels) in the Exeter hinterland area alone, which suggests that her overall total is too low even if her calculations do not include chapels recorded in the *Taxatio* (*cf.* following note).

Figure 2.3: Distribution of church values in Exeter's hinterland as recorded in the *Taxatio*

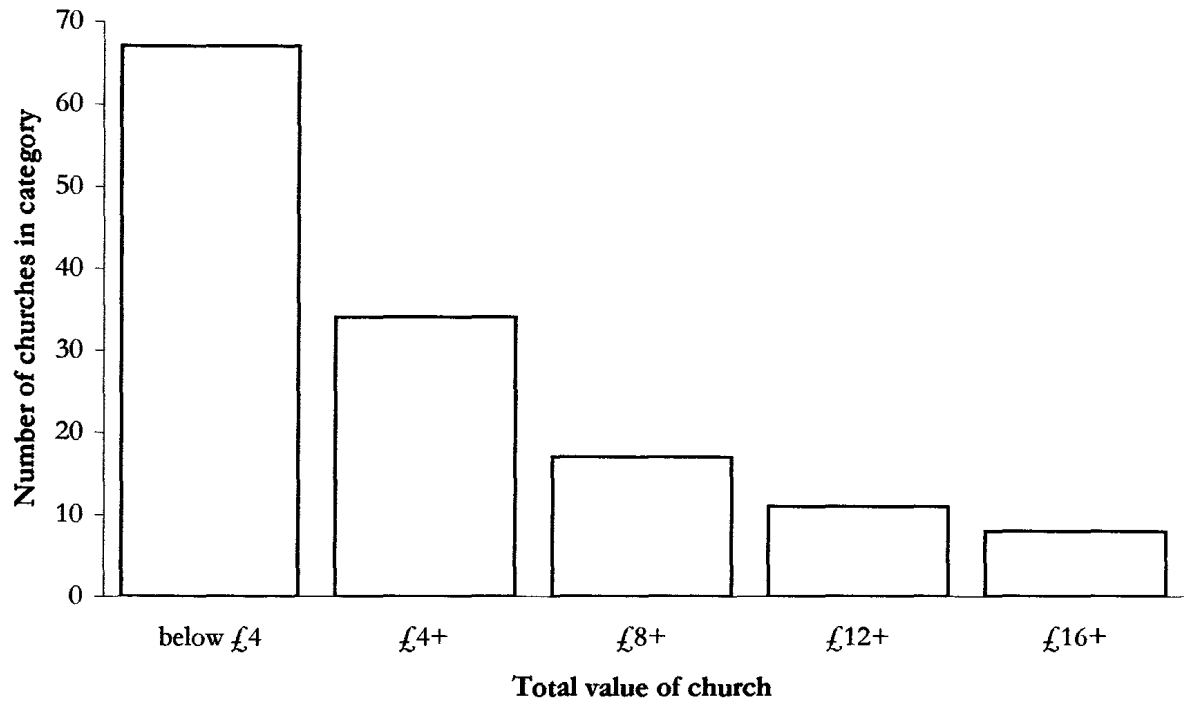
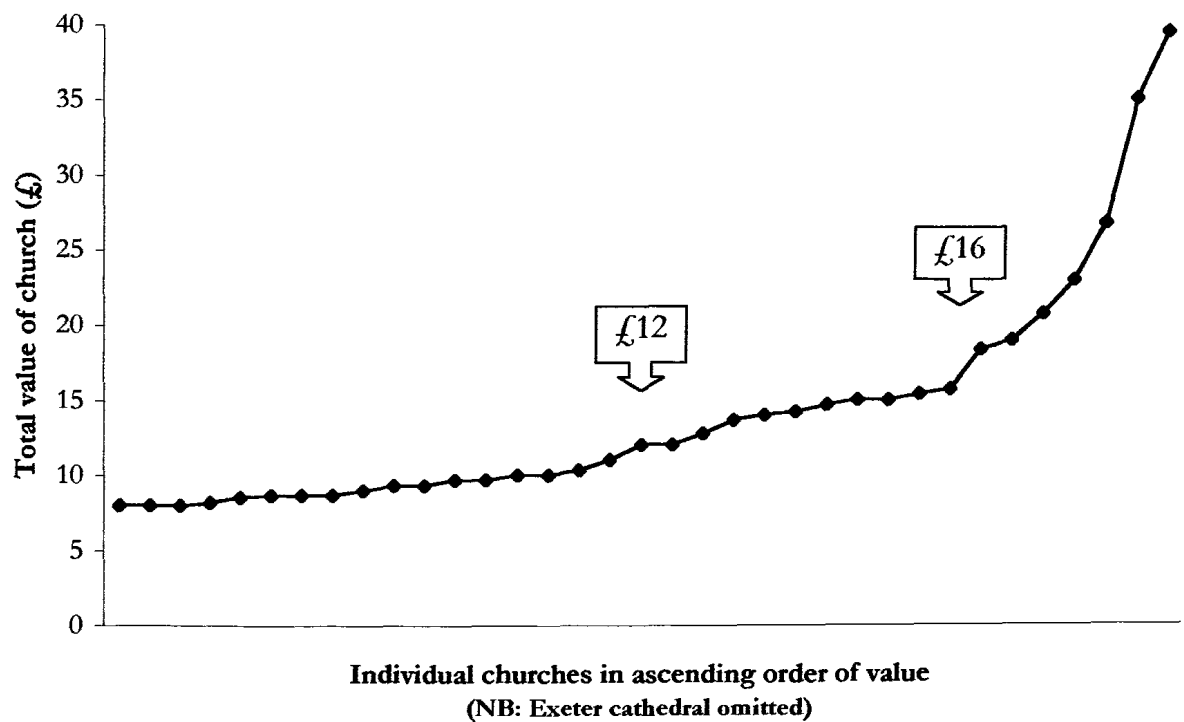


Figure 2.4: Churches in Exeter's hinterland valued at £8 or more in the *Taxatio*



totals of twenty-two, sixty-five, fifty-nine and forty-two churches in Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and Wiltshire respectively. These contrasts cannot be explained simply by differences in the total number of churches recorded by the *Taxatio* in each shire, and it seems reasonable to conclude that most churches in Devon and Dorset were either significantly poorer or given lower assessments than those in the other three shires.⁵⁶ In either case, it suggests that the *Taxatio* valuations for Devon need to be considered on their own merits rather than by direct comparison with the absolute values obtaining in other areas.

When the *Taxatio* data for the Exeter hinterland area are examined in more detail, it is also apparent that although there is a fairly even and continuous distribution of values from the most impoverished chapel up to and including that valued at £11 (Awliscombe), there is then a notable step between these and the churches valued between £12 and £16, above which latter value the differences become more exaggerated (see Fig. 2.4 and Appendix I).⁵⁷ If Exeter cathedral itself is ignored, the remaining seven churches in this highest group (Kenton, Crediton, Ottery St Mary, Kingsteignton, Exminster, Broadclyst and Exeter St Mary Castle) differ from each other in value by as much as £20, but all are clearly 'superior' to the rest in terms of their assessed value and, it seems reasonable to assume, in terms of their importance within the Exeter hinterland area at the time of the *Taxatio*. This analysis, however, only gives us a comparison between church values in absolute terms and across the whole of the survey area, and fails to highlight local differences. Within the rural deanery of Kenn, for example, there are three churches valued at £15 or more (Kenton, Exminster and Kenn) and four valued at more than £9 (Alphington, Cowick, Combeinteignhead and Stokeinteignhead), to which latter group could be added the 'peculiar' churches of Dawlish and Chudleigh (Bishopsteignton being unrecorded in the *Taxatio*). Clearly, this was a deanery with an unusually high concentration of wealthy churches. By contrast, there

⁵⁶ Hall's figures are based on totals of 256 churches in Devon [a total that seems to be far too low; a provisional count based on Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.451-66, suggests that the total should be 399 (374 churches and 25 chapels); cf. Holdsworth, 1991, p.27], 192 in Dorset, 229 in Hampshire, 297 in Somerset and 134 in Wiltshire.

⁵⁷ For reasons of scale and clarity, Fig. 2.4 omits churches valued at less than £8 together with Exeter cathedral, valued at £97 13s 4d.

are no churches valued at more than £9 within the rural deanery of Cadbury (ignoring here the 'peculiar' churches) and only four are valued at between £6 and £9 (Newton St Cyres, Thorverton, Cheriton Fitzpaine and Shobrooke), while all but one (Down St Mary) of the remaining eight churches are valued at less than £4.

Analysis of the distribution of church values within each deanery certainly provides a more focussed impression of local variations in financial status; it is also notable that none of the rural deaneries has as its *caput* the most highly valued church within it. However, the use of the deaneries as the geographical basis for such an analysis may be misleading because some of them, and particularly Aylesbeare, encompass large areas in themselves. A slightly different approach might be to compare each church with those in immediately adjacent parishes, ignoring the deanery and 'peculiar' boundaries. If looked at in this way, then the locally superior wealth - and presumably status, therefore - of churches such as Broadhembury, Otterton, Moretonhampstead, Bovey Tracey and perhaps even Cheriton Fitzpaine becomes apparent, while that of churches such as Crediton, Broadclyst and Kingsteignton is further emphasised.

What emerges from these various comparisons is that the medieval parochial system of the Exeter hinterland area was not a uniform system comprising undifferentiated local parish churches. Within both the wealthier and poorer parts of the area there were churches whose valuations - whatever the value in absolute terms - were significantly higher than others in their immediate vicinity, although this leaves us with the questions of when and how this locally 'superior' wealth and (presumably) status originated in each instance and what it might signify. These are questions that are best addressed by considering each church within its local context, and this will form the basis of the approach adopted in the next chapter. In some cases there may be an obvious contemporary explanation, such as an increased opportunity for oblations because of the presence of a town or regular market, but in others there may be reasons whose origins lay in the period before the late thirteenth century and at an earlier stage in the development of the

parochial system. What is needed before the more detailed studies that follow, therefore, is a comparative picture of the patterns of landscape organisation in Exeter's hinterland for a period earlier than the *Taxatio*, for which the information preserved by the late eleventh-century Domesday survey constitutes the most obvious basis.

2.3: The administrative landscape of Domesday Exeter and its hinterland.

The vast composite Domesday survey of most of England initiated by William I late in 1085 provides us with invaluable information about the kingdom, not only at the time of the Inquest in 1086 but also, through retrospective comparison, at the time when the English king Edward the Confessor (to whom William I regarded himself as the legitimate successor) died in January 1066. Although there are undoubted deficiencies and difficulties within the Domesday texts, these need not be over-stressed to the extent that they are approached 'with the air of one requested to defuse an explosive device'.⁵⁸ Our understanding of the process, chronology and purpose of the Domesday Inquest has been greatly improved since Vivian Galbraith and Rex Welldon Finn reintegrated the 'Exeter Domesday' into its study and Sally Harvey and others reassessed the so-called 'satellite' texts associated with the Domesday survey.⁵⁹ Notably, Galbraith undermined the overemphasis on fiscal matters imposed upon Domesday research by John Horace Round and Frederic Maitland, and re-emphasised the Inquest's concern with feudal tenure.

But if the Inquest's purpose combined the fiscal and the tenurial, then its method combined the feudal and the geographical. The apparent difficulties in matching the geographically organised late Anglo-Saxon administration to the feudal considerations of the Inquest dogged much early work on Domesday and led to considerable differences in the interpretation of its

⁵⁸ Harvey, 1980, p.130.

⁵⁹ e.g. Galbraith, 1961; Finn, 1961; *idem*, 1964; Harvey 1971; Clarke 1985. The 'Exeter Domesday' forms part of the *Liber Exoniensis* (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3500), hereafter referred to as *Exon*. The view that *Exon* was one of the sources for Exchequer Domesday was not new, and was proposed in a paper by Dean Lyttelton as early as 1756: see Finn, 1964, p.4; Bates, 1986, p.3; Thorn & Thorn, 2001, pp.66-8.

evidence. However, Harvey argued convincingly that administrative documents combining feudal and hundredal formats certainly existed by the time of Edward the Confessor, and perhaps even earlier at the shire level, as 'part of the normal fiscal machinery'.⁶⁰ More recently, Howard Clarke has demonstrated that this 'administrative duality' of feudal and geographical organisation could have been achieved by the simple technique of interlineation in documentary records.⁶¹ Such apparatus provided the basis for the far more detailed and comprehensive Domesday Inquest, and the improved understanding of this aspect of the Inquest and its records is of immense value in reconstructing the socio-economic organisation of late Anglo-Saxon England. The interpretation now generally, but not universally, accepted by historians is that the English kingdom was already an effectively - albeit loosely - feudal state prior to the Conquest and that the new Norman governing élite were largely adapting and improving an existing system.

Although Domesday is arranged according to landholders within each shire, the shire itself was the fundamental division of both late Anglo-Saxon government and Domesday Book, below which the hundreds (or wapentakes in some areas) formed an administrative grouping intermediate between the shires and the manors.⁶² Each of these three levels had its own court; and it is to the processes of, and the records maintained or provided by, these courts that Domesday often seems to be alluding. The codicology of Domesday Book suggests a grouping of counties into 'circuits'; and the contemporary account of Robert, bishop of Hereford, indicates that two successive sets of *inquisitores* were sent to each circuit.⁶³ In addition, there was a levy of the geld (at a rate of six shillings on every hide) in the same year, which, in some areas at least, entailed a further inquiry.⁶⁴ At shire courts within each circuit, in formal and out-of-court sessions, the testimonies of shire and hundredal juries, land-holders and manorial representatives

⁶⁰ Harvey, 1971, pp.756, 763, 766; *idem*, 1975, pp.176-7; Loyn, 1987, pp.2-3; *cf.* Thom & Thom, 2001, pp.48, 62-4.

⁶¹ Clarke, 1985, esp. pp.58, 62-4, 67.

⁶² *Exon* Domesday can be seen as 'more feudal' in that Devon, Cornwall and Somerset are grouped together, but the order within each fief is still by shire, then by hundred; the fiefs were separated into shires for the Exchequer version: see e.g. Thom & Thom, 2001, p.58.

⁶³ Galbraith, 1961, pp.7-8, 52-3; Finn, 1964, p.13; Thom & Thom, 2001, pp.40-6. The south-western shires are usually described as comprising 'Circuit II', although this may have been the last circuit to be written.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp.229-30; Finn, 1964, pp.97-8, 108ff; Harvey, 1980, p.126; *idem*, 1987; Holt, 1987, p.48; Thom, 1991, p.28.

were combined with the existing records to produce the returns that were later abbreviated at Winchester to form Exchequer Domesday itself.⁶⁵ It represents an immense administrative achievement. Yet Domesday Book is unfinished; the evidence points to a need for rapid completion, perhaps linked to the homage at Salisbury or William's departure from England in 1086 rather than to his death in 1087.⁶⁶

For the south-western circuit, comprising the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, the Exchequer Domesday record is augmented by the survival of most of the circuit return from which it was directly or indirectly prepared, now incorporated in *Exon* together with a number of related documents.⁶⁷ For Devon, these latter comprise two lists of hundreds, the Tax Returns (comprising abstracts from the geld inquiry), the *Terrae Occupatae* (in which the *inquisitores* recorded many combined, divided or disputed holdings), and a summary for Glastonbury abbey's solitary holding in Devon.⁶⁸ These documents contain information not recorded in *Exon* Domesday itself; in particular, the hundred lists and Tax Returns provide important correctives to the absence of hundredal rubrication, although usually not of hundredal order, in *Exon* Domesday and the absence of both in the corresponding section of Exchequer Domesday. There is not always full agreement between these various records, however, because the Domesday and geld inquests were interrelated but separate operations; for example, it seems

⁶⁵ The *Exon* Domesday arrangement combining Devon, Cornwall and Somerset suggests that these three shires were compiled at the same time. The variety of scribal hands in *Exon* suggests a large and well-organised *scriptorium*, and at least three of the hands can be associated with Salisbury: Thorn & Thorn, 2001, p.57 (*cf.* Rumble, 1985, pp.42-3, who concluded that 'Exeter cannot be ruled out as the location of the centre where *Exon* was written'). The outline of the procedure of the Inquest given here draws mainly on Galbraith, 1961, pp.60-71, 166-71; Finn, 1961, pp.36-7, 48f, 160-6; *idem*, 1964, pp.8-13, 66-7, 157-8; Harvey, 1975, pp.182-3; Thorn & Thorn, 2001, p.56.

⁶⁶ Galbraith, 1961, pp.201-2; Finn, 1964, p.158; Harvey, 1980, p.127; Holt, 1987, pp.45, 56. However, work on the final text may have continued until the revolt against William II in 1088: see Thorn & Thorn, 2001, pp.69-72 (but for a more controversial reinterpretation, see Roffe, 2001, pp.32-5; *cf.* Hallam, 2001, pp.12-16; Holt, 2001, pp.22-4).

⁶⁷ Finn, 1961, pp.166-7, 170-2; *idem*, 1964, pp.52-4, argues that a 'fair copy' of *Exon* Domesday was made and that this constituted the direct source for Exchequer Domesday. Thorn & Thorn, 1985, 'Exon Introduction'; *idem*, 2001, pp.67-9, argue that the Exchequer version was taken directly from the document preserved in *Exon*.

⁶⁸ The 'Hundred lists' are on fo.63a, and the 'Tax Returns', or geld accounts, are on fos.65a-71a; see Finn, 1964, pp.40-2, 97-123; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, Appendix; Thorn, 1991, pp.28-30. The *Terrae Occupatae* [hereafter TO] are on fos.495a-506b; see Finn, 1964, pp.55-96; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, 'Exon Introduction'. The 'Glastonbury Summary' is on fo.527b; see Finn, 1964, p.125; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 4.1 [Note: unless specifically noted otherwise, references to a particular Domesday entry will be by the Thorns' chapter arrangement - e.g. DB 15,34 refers to the count of Mortain's manor of *Finetone* that occurs on fo.105a of Exchequer Domesday and fo.214b1 of *Exon* - and will be taken to imply both the transcript and translation for an entry occurring in Part 1 together with the corresponding commentary in the 'General Notes' and 'Exon Notes' in Part 2].

possible that the hundredal arrangements and hidage assessments used for *Exon* Domesday relied on Edwardian lists whereas an intended reorganisation of the hundreds may have formed a part of the geld inquiry in the south-western shires, and this will be discussed at a later stage.

Obviously, many questions regarding Domesday remain, and even its original purpose is still subject to debate. Harvey, for example, suggested a tripartite aim of checking official lists of land possession, recalculating the rateable taxation units, and evaluating magnates' incomes as a basis for assessing their feudal obligations; however, John Holt used the rubrication to examine Domesday's possible function in day-to-day use, which led him to propose its primary purpose as a royal record - and act - of enfeoffment.⁶⁹ Yet although it is important to bear such debates and possibilities in mind - and most historians now assume a 'blend' of fiscal, feudal and economic functions⁷⁰ - the precise definition of Domesday's purpose is not directly relevant to the present study. Of greater value are the type of information gathered, the form in which it was organised, and the nature of the land-units to which it relates.

* * *

Exchequer Domesday organises its information into chapters, each of which deals with the fief of a tenant-in-chief (and any sub-tenants) holding land within that shire; although the entries within each fief can follow hundredal order, this is less consistently the case than is found in *Exon* Domesday.⁷¹ Each entry records the feudal tenure and place-name for a particular holding and, although there is no such thing as a typical entry, there is usually a description of certain of its economic resources with assessments in terms of hidage, ploughland and monetary value.⁷² Underlying everything is the fundamental concept of a named unit of feudal land-holding; and

⁶⁹ Harvey, 1975, p.189; Holt, 1987, pp.50-6 (following a lead offered by Galbraith, 1961, pp.54, 190ff).

⁷⁰ As Holt admits, despite his own reservations: Holt, 1987, p.49.

⁷¹ see Thorn, 1986, pp.46-7; *idem*, 1991, pp.30-1.

⁷² On the ambiguities of hidage and ploughland assessments, see Finn, 1973, pp.25-6, 54-5; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,3-4 notes; Ravenhill, 1986, pp.32-4; Hooke, 1990, p.194; Thorn, 1999, p.272.

this begs the question, already touched upon in the previous chapter, of how the Domesday information regarding these named units of land-holding relates to the actual landscape.

An issue that needs briefly to be considered at this point is Domesday's description of some land-units as a *mansio* or *manerium*. That the term 'manor' denoted a particular role or status within the organisation of the landscape is implied by the first question of the *inquisitores* as listed in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, while studies of the Domesday formulae used in both south-western Britain and the south Midlands have suggested that *manerium* designated a local centre through which geld and other public burdens were organised and collected.⁷³ However, it is also apparent that in these and other regions a 'manor' could refer to a wide variety of land-units, ranging from a single farm to the central place for a large estate comprising numerous component and possibly outlying land-units (some of which might be recorded separately by Domesday as a 'berewick', a 'land' or even, confusingly, a 'manor'); furthermore, a 'manor' in 1086 might comprise several land-units described as 'manors' in 1066, or *vice versa*.⁷⁴ No simple definition or usage beyond a vague sense of 'the manor as an economic and administrative unit' seems applicable; and as the other terms used by the Domesday scribes to describe particular land-units (such as *villa*, *berewicha* or *terra*) appear equally nebulous, the deliberately general term 'holding' will usually be used here when referring to the named land-units recorded by Domesday.

The key factors to be considered in locating a particular Domesday holding are its place-name, the hundred within which it lies, and its subsequent tenurial descent; an advantage in the south-west is that *Exon* often includes the bynames of sub-tenants omitted in Exchequer Domesday, which makes it easier to distinguish individuals and hence the descent of a holding.⁷⁵ Although the 'mishearing, mispronunciation, misreading and miscopying' of place-names (owing to

⁷³ For the south-west, see Finn, 1964, pp.15, 45, 82-3. His use of the Domesday clerks' formulae to examine their perception of a 'manor' is similar to the more statistical approach of Palmer in the south Midlands: Palmer, 1987, pp.140, 148, 152-3 (*cf. ibid.*, p.143 n.22, for his recognition of Finn's influence).

⁷⁴ Stenton, 1971, pp.480-1; Finn, 1973, pp.8-9; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, 'Unnamed and omitted holdings' (section 3 of the 'Introductory notes' in part II); Hamshere, 1987, p.160; Loyn, 1991, pp.194-5, 351-6; Thorn, 1997, pp.346-7.

⁷⁵ Finn, 1964, p.136; Thorn, 1986, pp.52-3.

differences in the literacy and ability of scribes unfamiliar with the Old English language) resulted in numerous corrupted place-name spellings in Domesday, these can usually be identified - or at least associated - with a modern place-name.⁷⁶ For Devon, much of the pioneering work was undertaken by Oswald Reichel (whose identifications were closely followed by the English Place-Name Society's volumes for Devon); his studies contain errors, but these and many of the remaining problems have been addressed by Caroline and Frank Thorn in their notes for the Phillimore edition of the Devon Domesday.⁷⁷ Their proposed identifications of Domesday place-names have usually been adopted here, and will be discussed in detail at a later stage.⁷⁸ However, it must be stressed that we cannot simply 'identify' a Domesday holding with the site of a modern village or hamlet; Domesday is 'a record of territorial units', not of settlements, and each holding represents the possession of recognised rights over certain aspects of land use within a defined area of the late eleventh-century landscape.⁷⁹ It is within this context that the information preserved by Domesday must be considered.

Several of the studies discussed in the previous chapter revealed close correlations between the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes and those of one or more medieval manors (and apparently those of the corresponding Domesday holdings) as well as those of land-units defined by Anglo-Saxon charters. The clear implication was that, in some areas at least, the establishment of ecclesiastical parishes had effectively fossilised conceptual boundaries of pre-Conquest origin. In considering possible explanations for this process, it was noted that both proponents and opponents of the 'minster hypothesis' agree that a network of local churches and parishes related

⁷⁶ Finn, 1964, pp.30-1; Rumble, 1985, p.42; Dodgson, 1987, pp.122-3 (from whom the quotation given here derives); Gelling, 1988, pp.62-4 (esp. p.64 no.4); Thorn, 1997, pp.355-6; Thorn & Thorn, 2001, pp.53-4.

⁷⁷ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, *passim* (see also chapter 3.1 below). See Thorn, 1986, for further discussion of the problems (with particular reference to the south-western shires) and of the five criteria that need to be satisfied before any proposed identification of a Domesday place with a modern place-name can be regarded as secure: 1) what is its hundred? 2) do the Domesday details accord with the proposed identification? 3) can the Domesday place-name evolve to the modern place-name proposed? 4) what land-unit is being identified? 5) what documentary evidence, before and after 1086, supports the identification?

⁷⁸ The Domesday place-names of the Exeter hinterland area are listed in appendix II and discussed in chapter 4.4 below, while the identification of some holdings is discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.

⁷⁹ Jones, 1987, p.184; Thorn, 1997, pp.345, 348.

to existing patterns of landscape organisation had developed from a hierarchical system of subdiocesan churches during the three centuries before c.1200. It has also been argued in the present chapter that the majority of the parochial boundaries recorded by the tithe surveys within Exeter's hinterland were already in existence by at least the mid-thirteenth century and that local correlations with Anglo-Saxon charter bounds suggest that many of these parish boundaries reflect, albeit not in all points of detail, conceptual boundaries that existed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. On these grounds, there is a *prima facie* case that the parochial geography mapped in the early nineteenth century has a sufficiently close relationship to late eleventh-century patterns of landscape organisation to provide the basis for a partial reconstruction of the human landscape and land-units of Domesday Exeter and its hinterland.

That having been said, it must also be admitted that it is rarely possible to determine the precise extent of any Domesday holding, although the studies by researchers such as Drew and Taylor demonstrate that this is by no means impossible when sufficient additional information is available. Where only one Domesday holding and its later medieval successor can be associated with a particular parish, there is perhaps less of a problem; but things become increasingly complex when two or more Domesday holdings can be 'located' within a single parish, or a holding had a resource such as woodland that was detached from the main body of the holding. In some cases detached areas may have become fossilised as the parochial outliers recorded by the tithe surveys, but this clearly was not always the case; for example, an eleventh-century boundary clause relating to Topsham refers to an outlying (and as yet unidentified) area of woodland called 'Ashurst', but the tithe surveys record no parochial outlier for Topsham and it appears that 'Ashurst' must have become subsumed within the boundaries of another ecclesiastical parish.⁸⁰ Similarly, if a group of holdings recorded separately by Domesday had originated through the fragmentation of an earlier, larger and fully farmed land-unit, then a

⁸⁰ S 433; Chaplais, 1966, pp.5-9; Hooke, 1994, pp.125-6. The charter is an eleventh-century forgery, but the bounds relate to a holding that was, or had recently been, in Exeter minster's possession: see chapter 3.2 below, at notes 57-9.

simple division giving each holding a fair portion of the available resources may not always have been possible, with the result that a particular holding's arable, pasture and woodland might not lie within a discrete area encompassed by a single continuous boundary. By contrast, the silent inclusion of Sandford (for parts of which two Anglo-Saxon charters survive) within the Domesday entry for the large episcopal estate of Crediton, which had assessments of fifteen hides and one hundred and eighty-five ploughlands, clearly implies the existence of substantial subdivisions that were not named in Domesday, making it impossible for us to break down the information given and relate it to its respective components.⁸¹ Finally, the arrangements within each holding may also have been complex; Domesday records separately those ploughlands held by the manorial lord in demesne and by the peasant tenants, but these need not have constituted territorially discrete sub-holdings.

For these and similar reasons, it is impossible to reconstruct fully the tenorial landscape of Domesday Exeter and its hinterland; and although the use of the parochial geography recorded by the tithe surveys is undoubtedly of great value in clarifying the likely locations, extents and boundaries of particular Domesday holdings (many of which will be discussed further in chapter three), the result must necessarily still 'be viewed as an approximation'.⁸² Nevertheless, it can help us to unravel some of the ambiguities within the information recorded by Domesday and it provides us with a better understanding of each holding's relationship to other units of contemporary landscape organisation. This in turn places us in a better position to use the information provided by Domesday and the related *Exon* documents to reconstruct the late Anglo-Saxon administrative geography of Exeter and its hinterland.

* * *

⁸¹ S 405; S 890. For Crediton, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2 (*cf. ibid.*, DB 3,8 where nine named 'booklands' held by fifteen thegns in 1066 had been added to, and included in the single entry for, the Domesday holding of Bovey Tracey); Ravenhill, 1986, p.45; see also chapter 3.2 (at pp.82ff), 3.2.1 (at pp.97-99, 105-8) and 3.3 (at p.163) below.

⁸² Hamshire, 1987, pp.156-7. It should be noted here that the parish identifications given by Thorn & Thorn, 1985, in their notes regarding the various Domesday holdings do not refer to the early nineteenth-century parishes but to those resulting from more recent administrative reorganisations; this can sometimes be misleading and obscure the identification or context of a holding, and they are silently corrected hereafter.

It was noted above that the Domesday and geld inquests were interrelated but separate operations, producing documents with differences in hundredal assessments.⁸³ Galbraith took the absence of hundredal rubrications in *Exon* Domesday to indicate their low importance in a locally 'more authoritarian society', where the *inquisitores* relied more upon evidence supplied by magnates and English thegns than upon the testimony of the hundreds or shires; for him, the difference between a 'rule-of-thumb' traditional tax and the 'stringent and searching' Domesday Inquest explained the variations in their figures.⁸⁴ Finn, however, contended that *Exon* Domesday reflected the hundredal organisation of 1066 whereas the Tax Returns represented that following the geld inquest, and that the implied and ongoing reorganisation explained the omission of hundredal rubrication from Domesday.⁸⁵ Harvey noted that in Devon, as for some other counties, Domesday records hidages using the past tense, which suggested not that the hidages remained unchanged but that the Edwardian figures were the only ones available; developing Finn's argument, she suggested that 'a reorganisation of hundreds as well as a review of demesne hidage and fiscal liability was felt necessary' in the south-west as a consequence of the Domesday Inquest.⁸⁶ More recently, a re-examination of the 'Burghal Hidage' (a West Saxon administrative document of c.914x919) by Nicholas Brooks has shown that the combined hidages then assigned to the south-western fortifications of Exeter, Halwell, Lydford and Pilton correspond exactly to the combined Domesday assessments of Devon and Cornwall, which strongly suggests that the hidages recorded for these shires in 1086 preserve a system of assessment that had existed since at least the early tenth century.⁸⁷

The apparent use of existing hidages increases the likelihood that the Domesday *inquisitores* were relying in part upon Edwardian documents and that the order of entries in *Exon* Domesday

⁸³ Darby & Finn, 1967, pp.224-6; Holt, 1987, p.48; Thorn, 1991, p.30 & n6. The total Tax Return assessment for Devon is about 100 hides less than that in Domesday, and in some hundreds the king has more exempt demesne in the Tax Return than the corresponding hidage of his assessment given by Domesday.

⁸⁴ Galbraith, 1961, pp.72 and n.3, 100-1, 114-15.

⁸⁵ Finn, 1964, p.42.

⁸⁶ Harvey, 1971, pp.768-9 and p.768 n.3.

⁸⁷ Brooks, 1996, pp.138-41. This appears to supersede the suggestion by Thorn, 1991, p.27, that the 'Burghal Hidage' figures imply a subsequent (and unexplained) reduction of about 25% in the overall assessment for Devon.

reflects the late Anglo-Saxon hundredal system. However, there is also evidence to suggest that a more comprehensive explanation may be necessary. The *Exon* documents provide the earliest record of Devon hundred-names - although some are evidenced as place-names before this - but some of the hundred-names that were derived from those of royal holdings appear only in *Exon* (e.g. Silverton, Teignton) and are otherwise referred to by the names of hundredal meeting places, which may represent the revival of an earlier hundred-name.⁸⁸ In addition, there were a few estates that may have exercised 'quasi-hundredal' administrative functions, such as that of South Tawton within Wonford Hundred, while a note that Moretonhampstead received the third penny of 'Teignbridge' Hundred may indicate an administrative or jurisdictional role within Teignton Hundred.⁸⁹ Finally, it is worth noting that late eleventh-century marginalia (roughly contemporary with the Domesday Inquest) in the *Leofric Missal* and the *Exeter Book* record the witnessing of manumissions by the 'hundreds' of Cowick (in St Thomas the Apostle parish), *Holacumba* (probably Holcombe Burnell), Exeter, Alphington and Topsham, all of which lay within the eastern half of Wonford Hundred and may represent local moot-sites.⁹⁰ Although further consideration of these and similar apparent ambiguities should perhaps be postponed until a later stage, it seems possible that the putative post-Conquest reorganisation suggested by Finn and Harvey represented an attempt to focus geld collection at a single, and preferably royal, manor within each hundred rather than at numerous local centres; this need not have had a significant effect on the territorial extent or identity of the hundreds, hence the subsequent 'reversion' to traditional hundred-names.

Any attempt to reconstruct this administrative landscape is faced with the problem that several boundaries and identifications remain obscure. For example, there are some parishes, such as

⁸⁸ Anderson, 1939, pp.74ff; Thom & Thom, 1985, Appendix 'The Devonshire Hundreds'; Thom, 1991, p.38; see also the discussions of particular hundreds in chapter 3 below. Anderson believed the Tax Returns to belong to 1084 and therefore to pre-date Domesday; his argument is strengthened if the geld inquest followed that of Domesday.

⁸⁹ Anderson, 1939, p.99; Stenton, 1971, p.501; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,29; 1,45; 15,7; 43,1; 45,1; 51,2 & Appendix 'The Devonshire Hundreds'; Thom, 1991, pp.33 & n4, 37-8.

⁹⁰ Thorpe, 1865, pp.632, 634, 636-7; Earle, 1888, pp.253, 256-7, 262-4; Förster, 1933b, pp.51 nos.22-3, 52 no.27; Anderson, 1939, pp.74-5; Pelteret, 1990, pp.100ff nos.96, 108-9, 113, 123, 137, 140; Conner, 1993, p.19.

Down St Mary, within which Domesday holdings lying in different hundreds can be located and where the boundary between them is uncertain.⁹¹ Similarly, interpretations may differ regarding certain points of detail; the *Exon* order of entries suggests that Alric's holding at Buckland (in Combeinteignhead parish) lay in Teignton Hundred, but it is possible that this was a misplaced entry referring to Wonford Hundred or that Buckland already lay in Kerswell (later Haytor) Hundred as it did in the later medieval period.⁹² Yet within these limits the Domesday, *Exon* and other evidence can be used to produce a reasonably reliable map of the probable pre-Conquest hundredal organisation within Exeter's hinterland together with the approximate extents of the holdings in ecclesiastical and royal possession (see fig. 2.5).⁹³

So far as the overall pattern of the hundreds is concerned, a comparison of this map with that of the local relief and drainage geography reveals that many of the hundredal boundaries, in whole or in part, adopt obvious topographical features: rivers and ridges together with surviving sections of Roman road (see Figs. 1.1, 4.6). Most of the hundreds have a loose geographical coherence, in that they conform mainly to the natural topography of one or more of the major river valleys; but a notable exception is Wonford Hundred, the main body of which stretches across the landscape for about twenty-two miles from the Clyst in the east to the Taw in the west. Here at least there is a sense of artificiality, although at present we can only speculate as to whether this might represent the coalescence of two or more smaller land-units or the 'rump' that remained after more geographically coherent land-units had been defined and separated from a once larger territory. In addition, the overall pattern is complicated by the fact that several hundreds have areas of jurisdiction that are detached from the main body of the hundred. Some

⁹¹ See Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,72; 2,2; 6,4; 24,28. The problems of reconstructing the hundredal affiliations of Domesday holdings in Down St Mary and Morchard Bishop are discussed in chapter 3.2 below (at pp.103-7), and the simplified hundredal boundary shown in Fig. 2.5 remains conjectural.

⁹² Reichel, 1908, pp.123-4; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,41; Thorn, 1991, pp.33 (n9), 40-1; see chapter 3.3 below.

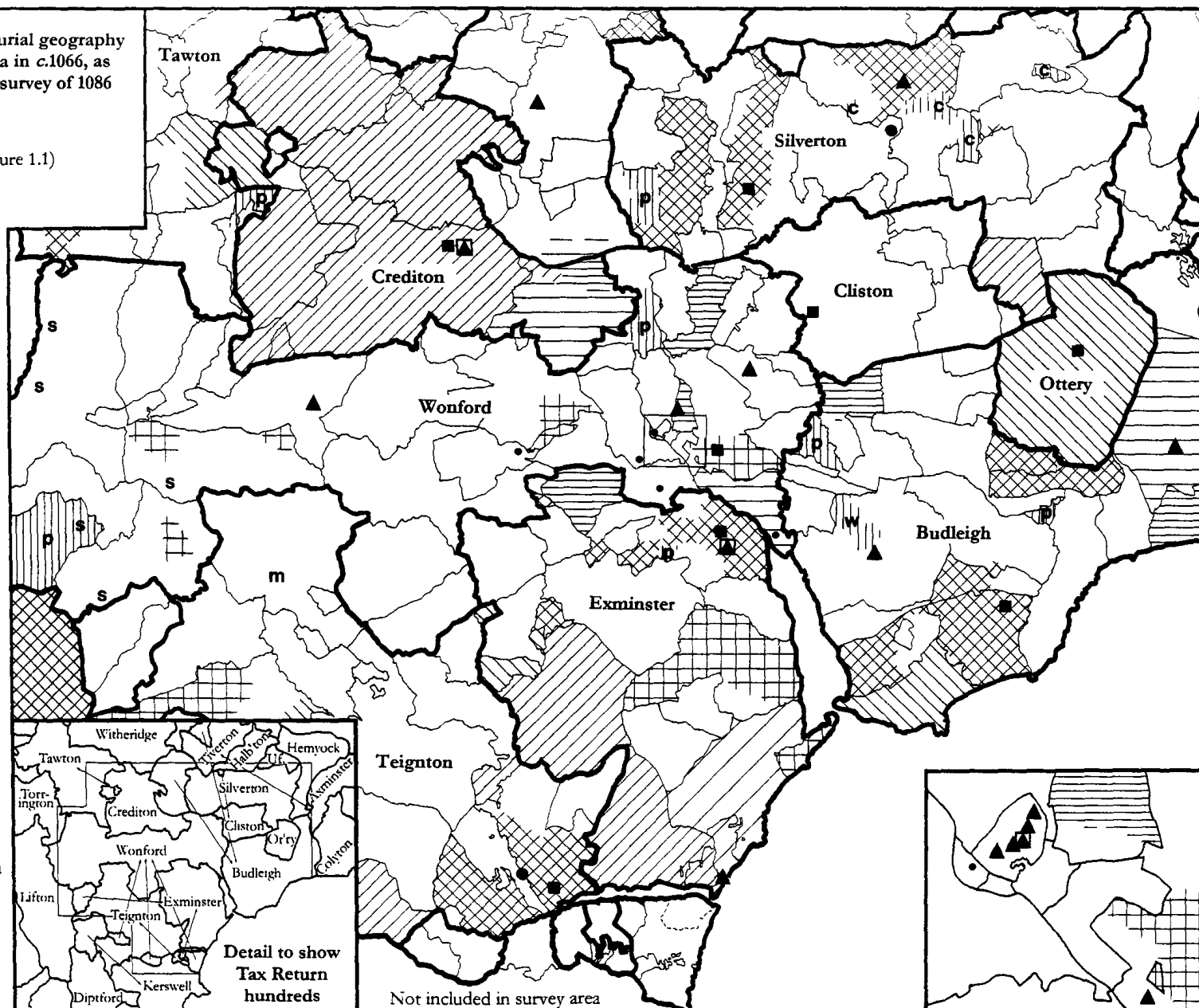
⁹³ The data for this reconstruction are derived mainly from Thorn & Thorn, 1985 (and with reference to Thorn, 1991, *passim*, *idem*, 1999, p.271 map 35.2), albeit with numerous modifications resulting from my own research; see chapter 3 below. The map of ecclesiastical lands and those held by either king Edward or queen Edith in 1066 is (for reasons discussed above) approximate; it is intended to give a general impression of their extents and locations rather than a precise representation. The details of churches included in Fig. 2.5 are discussed in the following subsection.



Figure 2.5: The administrative and tenorial geography of the Exeter hinterland area in c.1066, as recorded by the Domesday survey of 1086 and earlier evidence

(Note: scale of main map as for Figure 1.1)

- Hundredal boundary (in 1086)
- Outlier of hundred
- Hundredal *caput* (hundred names are those of the Tax Returns)
- Hundredal moot (where different)
- 'Hundred' named in manumission
- s Returns linked to South Tawton
- m Moretonhampstead
- ▨ Lands of king Edward
- ▩ Lands of queen Edith
- ▧ Lands of Exeter cathedral
- ▦ Lands claimed by Exeter cathedral
- ▥ Lands of the bishopric of Exeter
- ▤ Private lands of bishop Leofric
- ▣ Lands held by priests
- ▢ Lands of Cullompton church
- Lands of Woodbury church
- Lands of churches not in survey area
- ▲ Minster (definite)
- ▲ Other certain or probable church



Not included in survey area

of these hundredal outliers may result from economic or agricultural arrangements; Hooke has suggested that the linkages between some estuarine or coastal manors in Devon with dependencies in Dartmoor, such as those of Exminster Hundred in Chagford, North Bovey and Manaton parishes, could derive from arrangements for summer grazing or early transhumance.⁹⁴ In other cases, however, an explanation in terms of resource management is less readily apparent and it seems more likely that an explanation connected with contemporary or earlier seigneurial arrangements should be sought.

It is clear that our picture of the late Anglo-Saxon administrative landscape of the Exeter hinterland area is far from complete, and that it raises as many questions as at first it might seem to answer. Although it seems likely that the West Saxon hundredal system was introduced during the first half of the tenth century, there is little to indicate how or when the basic pattern of landscape organisation developed locally;⁹⁵ does it represent a relatively recent creation *de novo*, for example, or did it evolve from earlier land-units similar to the *regiones* noted elsewhere? A feature of all but three of the hundreds lying wholly or mainly within the Exeter hinterland area is that the hundredal manor was in the hands of either king Edward or queen Edith in 1066; of the remainder, Crediton and Ottery hundreds were in ecclesiastical hands as the result of royal grants (in c.739 and 1061 respectively), while Broadclyst, the *caput* of Cliston Hundred, was held by one Ordwulf who appears to have been descended from earlier ealdormen of Devon.⁹⁶ Although the many lacunae in our pre-Conquest evidence preclude certainty, there is clearly a possibility that the development of the local hundredal system was associated with pre-existing patterns of royal land-holding. Thorn's work on the Domesday records for Devon led him to suggest that some groups of hundreds originated as areas centred on a *villa regalis*; the hundreds of Budleigh,

⁹⁴ Hooke, 1994, p.222; *idem*, 1998, pp.190-2 & fig. 64 (whose comments are based mainly on work by Fox: compare the reconstruction of later medieval cattle movements connected with grazing and rearing by Fox, 1999, pp.273, 276 map 36.3).

⁹⁵ Yorke, 1995, pp.124-5; see also Wormald, 1999a, pp.378-80, and references given in note 30 of chapter 1.2, above.

⁹⁶ For the holders of the hundredal manors in 1066, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,3-4; 1,7; 1,9-10; 1,28; 1,56; 2,2; 10,1; for the grants of Crediton and Ottery, see S 255 (and *cf.* S 421), S 1033; for Ordwulf, see Finberg, 1943, pp.190, 193-5; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.lx, 74-7 no.21.

Silverton, Cliston and Ottery, for example, may have formed a land-unit dependent upon Silverton or Cullompton (and an even earlier association with a 'hundred-group' based on Tiverton 'could explain the outliers of Cliston and Budleigh hundreds'), while Exminster, Teignton, Kerswell and Wonford hundreds may have been similarly dependent upon Moretonhampstead or Exminster.⁹⁷ At a still larger scale, Brooks has pointed out that the unusually precise figure of 734 hides assigned to Exeter in the 'Burghal Hidage' may indicate that its 'burghal district' represented a pre-existing (and implicitly pre-hundredal) territory with an established hidage assessment; he tentatively identifies this territory with an area of central and eastern Devon corresponding to nineteen Domesday hundreds whose total assessment was just over 730 hides.⁹⁸ However, he also notes that it is not normally feasible to compare the territorial composition and assessments of 'burghal districts' and hundreds with those of putative earlier *regiones* because at present we are rarely able to reconstruct the latter with a sufficient degree of confidence.⁹⁹ In view of the models being developed by Bassett and other proponents of the 'minster hypothesis' discussed in the previous chapter, this brings us to the next point to consider: does Domesday provide any indication of a 'minster system' existing, or having existed, within the area of Exeter and its hinterland?

* * *

It has long been recognised that because Domesday was concerned with feudal, fiscal and economic issues it is an unreliable witness regarding ecclesiastical matters, and as early as 1787 Samuel Denne had demonstrated that its recording of churches was incomplete.¹⁰⁰ Its combined references to churches, chapels and priests yield a potential total of about 2,700 churches throughout those parts of England that were covered by the Domesday survey; but a comparison

⁹⁷ Thom, 1991, pp.35-9 & n17; but *cf.* Weddell, 1987, pp.78-9 & fig. 3(2).

⁹⁸ Brooks, 1996, pp.139-40 & fig. 6.1.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p.133.

¹⁰⁰ Bates, 1986, p.3 (citing S. Denne, 'Doubts and conjectures concerning the reason commonly assigned for inserting or omitting the words *ecclesia* and *presbyter* in Domesday Book', *Archaeologia*, 8, 1787, pp.218-38).

with later evidence led Richard Morris to propose that an actual figure of around 5,850 churches overall was more likely, which implies that Domesday omits more than half of the churches in late eleventh-century England.¹⁰¹ Only when ecclesiastical institutions fell within Domesday's remit were these likely to have been recorded in some form, and even here we find many variations in content, arrangement and terminology. In Devon, we find episcopal, monastic and other ecclesiastical land-holders who feature because of their positions as 'tenants-in-chief' or similar, but the Inquest documents explicitly mention only twelve churches in 1086, of which seven lie within the survey area.¹⁰²

Of these seven churches, four are in Exeter: the cathedral church of St Peter; St Olaf's, held by Battle abbey; an unnamed church held by the bishop of Exeter (usually but perhaps wrongly identified as St Stephen's); and one, probably St Lawrence's, held by Robert count of Mortain.¹⁰³ The other three comprise Battle abbey's churches at Cullompton and Pinhoe, together with the church at Woodbury held by the abbey of Mont St Michel.¹⁰⁴ At least six, and probably all seven, of these churches appear to have existed in 1066.¹⁰⁵ In addition, among the less specific references to churches in the Domesday documents, 'the canons of St Mary' mentioned as subtenants of sheriff Baldwin in 1086 probably represent the church he founded to serve Exeter Castle after 1068 and can be discounted for our purposes, while an entry in the Tax Returns that notes land held by the priests (*presbiteri*) of Exminster refers to a collegiate church that certainly existed prior to 1066.¹⁰⁶ The place-names recorded by Domesday also provide implicit *termini ante*

¹⁰¹ Morris, 1985, pp.49-53 & table 5.1: the 1801 Census listed 11,379 parish churches in England and Wales; a 1635 source noted 9,734 parishes; the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1534 gives a total of 8,838 benefices; the *Taxatio* of 1291-2 records at least 8,085 parishes and 457 parochial chapels. Even allowing for the disparity of institutions being recorded in these later surveys, the Domesday figure of about 2,700 churches, chapels and priests interpreted as representing churches (a total that Morris considered to be in need of slight revision) therefore seems very low.

¹⁰² Darby & Finn, 1967, pp.278-9; Holdsworth, 1986, p.56 (both of which omit the reference to St Peter's church in a dispute regarding Newton St Cyres: see Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,2).

¹⁰³ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,1-2; 9,2; 15,1. In order to save space and avoid unnecessary repetition, the critical apparatus here and in the remainder of this section will usually be kept to a minimum; full discussions and references are given in the appropriate sections of chapter 3 below.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, DB 1,33; 1,52; 9,1.

¹⁰⁵ The exception is the unnamed church held by the bishop, for which no pre-Conquest details are given.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, DB 1,4; 16,89-92.

quos for the existence of churches at *Jacobeschirche* (St James's church in Heavitree) and at two holdings called *Ceri(n)tone* (Cheriton Fitzpaine and Cheriton Bishop); the latter are more likely to mean 'tūn with a church' than 'tūn belonging to a church'.¹⁰⁷ Finally, if one includes all the references to priests in 1066 then it is possible that churches also existed at Bishopsclyst (in Sowton and Farringdon), Dotton, Clannaborough, Upton Pyne, East Raddon (in Thorverton) and perhaps Gidleigh; such references are ambiguous, however, and can include priests, almsmen and royal clerks holding land not associated with any church.¹⁰⁸

The Domesday and *Exon* documents therefore provide direct evidence for seven or eight churches within Exeter's hinterland in 1066, of which at least two (the cathedral and Exminster) were certainly staffed by more than one priest, and hint that as many as nine others may have been present but unrecorded. It is not easy to judge the extent of any shortfall. The most obvious omission is the minster at Crediton, which had been the episcopal seat until this was transferred to Exeter in 1050; this is a striking demonstration of the fact that the silence or absence of an entry in Domesday does not preclude the presence of even a major church.¹⁰⁹ Some churches may be omitted because they lacked land or were not liable to taxation, for example, while Christopher Holdsworth suggested that, in Devon, Domesday recorded 'churches on royal land which were no longer in royal hands' but not those that the king retained.¹¹⁰ Others might have been omitted because they were considered to be within either the original parish or possession of another church or to be similarly appurtenant to a secular holding.¹¹¹

Our best sources of supplementary information are earlier, contemporary and later documents, together with surviving physical evidence. Apart from Crediton minster, however, the only

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, DB 36,19; 52,11; 52,50; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.414, 427, 441; cf. Cameron, 1996, p.126.

¹⁰⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,7; 15,7; 16,51; 16,129; 16,135; 51,6. In addition, an unnamed priest held 1 *ferling* on lease in Exminster: *ibid.*, DB 1,4.

¹⁰⁹ The *TO* record that Chaffcombe (in Down St Mary) was held by 'the bishop's canons' in 1086; but whether those of St Peter's, Exeter, or St Mary's, Crediton, is unclear: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2; see also chapter 3.2 below.

¹¹⁰ Holdsworth, 1986, p.56.

¹¹¹ e.g. Page, 1915, p.61. Not all eleventh-century local churches had their own priests; an often-cited example is the manorial church at Milford in Hampshire, served by a priest travelling from Christchurch minster to say mass in return for a small endowment of land: Blair, 1987, p.271; Hase, 1988, pp.54-6.

church within Exeter's hinterland that is explicitly mentioned in a pre-Conquest document but omitted by Domesday is the *michabeles ciricean* noted in the charter boundary of Dawlish in 1044, which can be identified as St Michael's in East Teignmouth.¹¹² Nevertheless, a cumulatively powerful case can be made for St Sidwell's church, lying outside Exeter's east gate: the early eleventh-century *Seggan* states that St Sidwell *restep...wiðutan Exanceastre* and a slightly later Exeter relic-list notes miracles *æt hire birgene*, which implies that a tomb or shrine (and presumably at least a chapel) already existed on the site of the later church; it is also likely that St Sidwell's rather than St Stephen's was the unnamed 'bishop's church' recorded by Domesday.¹¹³ Furthermore, there is a significant body of post-Conquest evidence to suggest that a number of other churches had pre-Conquest origins, but the consideration of such evidence belongs more properly to the detailed discussions in the next chapter and these churches have not been included on the present map (Fig. 2.5). However, it is worth noting that variant readings of a text preserved in a thirteenth-century cartulary suggest that Exeter and its suburbs contained either twelve or twenty-nine churches and chapels by the late eleventh century.¹¹⁴

With regard to physical evidence, St Olaf's church (which Domesday does record) apparently originated as countess Gytha's palace chapel, and the extant tower may be part of the original fabric.¹¹⁵ The need for caution, however, is emphasised by two 'Anglo-Saxon' windows in the post-Conquest gatehouse of Exeter Castle; 'old-fashioned' technology, architectural styles and craftsmen could well lead to a late Anglo-Saxon date being claimed for a minor church built in the early twelfth century.¹¹⁶ Elsewhere within Exeter, 'long-and-short' quoins of Anglo-Saxon type survived at St George's, where war damage also revealed re-used Roman tiles, and at St

¹¹² S 1003; Hooke, 1994, pp.203-5.

¹¹³ Rollason, 1978, pp.68, 92 no.38; Allan *et al*, 1984, p.398; Orme, 1992, p.171; Conner, 1993, pp.186-7 no.143; *cf.* Todd, 1987, p.290.; see also below, chapter 3.2 (at note 50) and chapter 3.2.2 (at pp.136-7).

¹¹⁴ Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.11-12; *cf.* Holdsworth, 1986, p.58; Erskine & Higham, 1986, p.70.

¹¹⁵ Hoskins, 1963, p.17; Allan *et al*, 1984, p.397; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.39, 394. However, Dr Steven Bassett (*pers. comm.*, July 1999) suggests that although on current evidence a late eleventh-century date is more likely than an early twelfth-century one, it is unsafe to regard the tower as necessarily pre-Conquest.

¹¹⁶ Gem, 1988, pp.21-2, 25-8. For the construction of Exeter Castle after the city fell to William I, see Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv [edited and translated in Chibnall, 1968-80, ii, pp.212-15].

Martin's, for which a late record of its dedication in 1065 may further support its inclusion here.¹¹⁷ Less certain are a putative pre-Conquest doorway at St Pancras's reported in the nineteenth century, and a claim by Hoskins that pre-Conquest work survived in the crypt beneath St Stephen's; neither has yet been confirmed by more recent study, although archaeological excavation has provided indirect evidence that St Pancras's church probably pre-dated the twelfth-century streets in its vicinity.¹¹⁸ Similarly indirect archaeological evidence suggests that the boundaries of Kingsteignton churchyard are of pre-Conquest origin, but the only structural evidence from elsewhere in the survey area is at St Giles's, Sidbury, where a 'crypt' with 'long-and-short' quoins was filled during the construction of the twelfth-century chancel and a fragment of decorated stonework, perhaps part of a tenth-century cross-shaft, was incorporated in a later wall.¹¹⁹ However, structural analysis and excavation in particular may well reveal further churches of pre-Conquest origin, as a small but growing body of archaeological evidence from elsewhere suggests that pre-existing small churches in timber or stone might be replaced by larger buildings in the eleventh or twelfth century.¹²⁰ It is worth remembering that it was only excavation following the demolition of St Mary Major church at Exeter that finally revealed the location of the late Anglo-Saxon minster and its relationship to three post-Roman British and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and to the underlying late Roman buildings.¹²¹

This survey of the limited documentary and physical evidence therefore increases our list of known pre-Conquest churches in Exeter's hinterland to at least eleven, more probably seventeen, and possibly as many as twenty-seven, depending on the criteria employed. By contrast, a calculation similar to that suggested by Morris, noted above, might lead us to expect an actual figure of around ninety churches at the time of Domesday. In either case, the omission of the

¹¹⁷ Rose-Troup, 1923, p.9; Taylor, 1978, pp.1072-3; Allan *et al.*, 1984, p.397-8; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.39, 390-1.

¹¹⁸ Hoskins, 1963, p.17; Collis, 1972, pp.10-11; Allan *et al.*, 1984, pp.398-400; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.394-5; Jacobson, 1998, p.7. These two churches have not been included in Fig. 2.5.

¹¹⁹ Cave, 1903; Reed, 1935, pp.287-8; Taylor & Taylor, 1965, ii, pp.547-8; Taylor, 1978, pp.1014-16; Todd, 1987, p.290; Weddell, 1987, p.93; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.39, 731-2. Kingsteignton church is omitted from Fig. 2.5.

¹²⁰ Blair, 1987, pp.272-3; Gem, 1988, pp.22-3; Morris, 1996, p.xv.

¹²¹ Henderson & Bidwell, 1982; see also chapters 3.2 (at pp.62-3 & Fig. 3.1) and 4.1 (at pp.246-7) below.

minsters at Crediton and Exminster (the latter being mentioned only in the Tax Returns) makes it clear that Domesday cannot be used in isolation as conclusive evidence for or against the existence of a 'minster system' in the Exeter hinterland area. Indeed, Blair has suggested that even the churches that are listed in Domesday can be classified only as either 'superior' or 'ordinary', the former including 'a wide range of minster and collegiate churches'.¹²² Yet it is also apparent that contemporary perceptions of different types of church could be blurred not only in the Domesday record but also in reality: bequests in surviving secular wills from the late tenth and eleventh centuries suggest that, by then and under certain circumstances (albeit not in all contexts), the distinction between secular minsters and manorial churches 'may not be a sharp contrast, but a spectrum'.¹²³

* * *

Although there are obviously major gaps in the picture of the human landscape that Domesday enables us to reconstruct, it can provide us with a reasonably reliable map of hundredal organisation and an impression of the extent of royal and ecclesiastical landholding within the Exeter hinterland area on the eve of the Conquest. In addition, the association between royal or ecclesiastical holdings and hundredal centres, together with the pre-hundredal assessed territory for Exeter suggested by the 'Burghal Hidage', raises the possibility that the development of the local hundredal system was associated with pre-existing patterns of royal land-holding; but whether a 'minster system' had once existed within the area of Exeter and its hinterland is less readily apparent. Domesday tells us about the contemporary landed possessions of the Church, but not about its areas of jurisdiction or its organisation and little about its physical institutions.

¹²² Blair, 1985, pp.104-11 & fig.7.1; *idem*, 1987, p.266. Blair proposed six criteria as a guide to identifying these 'superior' churches in Domesday: 1) references to apparently resident groups of *clerici*, *presbyteri* or *canonici* [the only criterion explicitly to indicate collegiate status]; 2) endowments of at least one hide or carucate; 3) church tenure separate from its parent manor; 4) separate valuation and survey of a church; 5) marks of status such as named dedications or geld exemptions; and 6) royal or episcopal ownership (not on its own counted as sufficient evidence). He identified three such 'superior' churches - Exeter cathedral, Exminster and Cullompton - in the Exeter hinterland area on the basis of the Domesday records (*idem*, 1985, map on p.110), although there are reasonable grounds for suggesting that Crediton and perhaps Woodbury (see chapter 3.5 below, at pp.228-9) should have been included.

¹²³ *idem*, 1987, pp.269-70. Hereafter, the term 'superior church' will be used to refer to any church of possible, but as yet undemonstrated, minster status.

However, we know that the thirteenth-century parochial system of the Exeter hinterland area was not a uniform system comprising undifferentiated local parish churches. It is notable that many of the churches whose locally 'superior' wealth and (presumably) status stand out in the *Taxatio* records correspond to the hundredal and other administrative foci, and to the handful of 'superior churches', recorded by the Domesday and *Exon* documents. Of the nineteen churches valued at £12 or more in the *Taxatio*, all five of the possibly 'superior churches' in 1066 are present (Crediton, Cullompton, Exeter cathedral, Exminster and Woodbury), while another five (Broadclyst, Kingsteignton, Moretonhampstead, Ottery St Mary and South Tawton) were located at important administrative centres and two more (Exeter St Sidwell and Sidbury) can be associated with churches whose potential importance is indicated by pre-Conquest documents or fabric. These correlations, like those between certain parish boundaries and the land-units defined in surviving Anglo-Saxon charters, suggest that aspects of the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical organisation of the Exeter hinterland area influenced, and remain detectable in the records of, the post-Conquest and later medieval periods. What is needed now is a more detailed examination in which the surviving evidence relating to each parish can be considered in its local context in order to attempt to trace its earlier development and origins.

Parish analyses: reconstructing the early medieval ecclesiastical and administrative organisation of Exeter's hinterland

3.1: Introduction.

As we have seen, the network of ecclesiastical parishes serving Exeter's hinterland, although not systematically mapped until the nineteenth century, fossilised features of human landscape organisation that often pre-date many of the surviving documentary records relating to the area. Most parishes were established before the late thirteenth century, and a significant proportion appear to have been defined in relation to pre-Conquest land-units and to reflect, albeit not in all points of detail and by no means in every case, conceptual boundaries that existed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This apparent adoption and preservation of pre-Conquest conceptual boundaries - that is, of boundaries that defined the possession of recognised rights over certain aspects of land use within specified areas of the contemporary human landscape - mean that the jigsaw of parishes and parish boundaries constitutes a potential primary source for the early medieval period. As with any type of evidence, the methodologies devised to analyse it and the interpretations based on the results must be properly scrutinised and may remain subject to debate. Nevertheless, it is sometimes possible to explore how and when boundary fossilisation occurred and, by establishing a *terminus ante quem* for a boundary-making episode, to throw fresh light on earlier patterns of socio-economic landscape organisation. Most importantly, however, the generally conservative nature of ecclesiastical boundaries in Exeter's hinterland means that they provide a valid topographical context within which to consider other surviving evidence.

The essential prerequisite for a study of this type is the establishment of secure identifications for the various holdings and place-names mentioned in medieval documents. For Devon, much

of the groundbreaking work on Domesday holdings and their relationships to later medieval fees and manors was carried out by Reichel in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His numerous papers are still of considerable value, but many of his suggested identifications and manorial descents require careful checking before they can be accepted, while a far greater range of early sources is now available in better editions than those upon which Reichel could draw. The English Place-Name Society volumes for Devon corrected some of Reichel's identifications, but the majority were accepted uncritically; in addition, the early place-name forms are often incomplete, some derivations are in need of revision and the coverage of minor names is erratic. By contrast, the copious notes that accompany the Thorns' edition of Domesday Book for Devon represent a considerable improvement on the foundations laid by Reichel, particularly in their more rigorous identification of places and the clarification of many manorial descents, although the editorial constraints under which the Thorns worked meant that much of the supporting evidence could be discussed only in a very abbreviated form. Nevertheless, when used in conjunction with the maps derived from the tithe surveys and augmented by other local studies, these three bodies of work provide the basis for a reconstruction of the eleventh- and twelfth-century land-units of Exeter's hinterland, although it is sometimes necessary to clarify the identifications of Domesday holdings and their post-Conquest manorial descents before further discussion of their earlier history and significance can take place.

Ideally, of course, what is really needed is a parish-by-parish, manor-by-manor, almost field-by-field study in which every detail of the documentary, archaeological, structural, toponymic and topographical evidence can be considered within both its local and wider contexts. However, to cover more than a handful of parishes, let alone the whole of the present survey area, to this degree of detail would require far more time and space than are available within the context of a doctoral thesis. For this reason, I intend to present four 'case studies' in which the main evidence relating to each parish within a particular area is considered in detail and a reconstruction of the

early medieval patterns of landscape organisation attempted. These case studies, comprising about half of the parishes within the Exeter hinterland survey area, provide a sufficiently representative sample to allow us to explore both the extent of the surviving evidence and the validity of the methodologies employed in its interpretation. The remaining parishes within Exeter's hinterland will be dealt with only in summary here, although it is my intention to present the detailed arguments relating to these parishes in monograph form at a later date.

The main foci for the four case studies have been chosen for a variety of reasons. In the first, Crediton and Exeter are treated together because they were successive episcopal seats and the documentary evidence relating to them is often interconnected; furthermore, both churches have been the subjects of earlier studies and their 'minster' status is not in serious doubt. Secondly, and by way of contrast, I will consider the area around Kingsteignton, where several researchers have suggested the existence of a major Anglo-Saxon church but about which Domesday and pre-Conquest sources are silent. The third case study will examine an area that takes Cullompton as its starting-point, because the details of its church as recorded by Domesday meet several of Blair's criteria for identifying a church of 'superior' status. The fourth and last of the studies will look the area around East Budleigh, the *caput* of Budleigh Hundred, which occupies an ambiguous position midway between the churches of Woodbury to the west and Sidbury to the east, each of which shows signs of having been an important pre-Conquest church.

3.2: Case study I: the minsters at Crediton and Exeter.

Evidence for probable Christian institutional continuity at Exeter throughout the post-Roman British and Anglo-Saxon periods has been provided by archaeology.¹ Excavations following the demolition of St Mary Major church in 1970 showed that its medieval predecessor had developed

¹ For what follows, see Bidwell, 1979, pp.20-2, 104, 110-14, 118; *idem*, 1980, pp.73, 86; Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, pp.148-66; Allan *et al*, 1984, pp.389-96; Todd, 1987, pp.289-90; Blair & Orme, 1995; Henderson, 1999, pp.485-6 maps 61.5-6; Orme & Henderson, 1999; see also Blake, 1972, pp.28-9, and chapter 4.1-2 below.





from a large church whose earliest three (or more) phases ended in an extensive rebuilding that occurred shortly after the construction of a Norman cathedral on an adjacent site to the east (see Fig. 3.1). The records describing the new cathedral's consecration in 1133, together with the size, location and context of the pre-twelfth-century phases of the excavated church, make it certain that the remains were those of the late Anglo-Saxon minster that became Leofric's cathedral in 1050 (on which see below). The minster and its associated cemetery [hereafter 'cemetery III'] were aligned to the north of true east; it is also possible that the 'lost' medieval chapel of St Mary Minor lay immediately to the west of the minster - a similar coaxial arrangement of associated churches has been noted at other minster sites - but neither the location nor the orientation of St Mary Minor has yet been confirmed by excavation. Cemetery III was underlain by an earlier cemetery [hereafter 'cemetery II'] whose general alignment was closer to true east. Like cemetery III it included 'charcoal burials' of a type known from ninth-, tenth- and eleventh-century contexts elsewhere, although the only datable object recovered was a gold ring that is stylistically attributable to the beginning of the tenth century. This provides a *terminus post quem* for cemetery III and consequently for the late Anglo-Saxon minster, which presumably was the successor to an earlier church that shared the same alignment as cemetery II. No physical evidence for this putative earlier church has yet been recovered, but the reasonable assumption is that it was an important church that existed in the late ninth century and is likely to have been in existence for some time previously. Significantly, cemetery II was itself underlain by the remains of a still earlier cemetery [hereafter 'cemetery I'] datable to the fifth and sixth centuries, which shared the alignment of (and overlay the levelled site of) the late Roman basilica and forum. Although cemetery I and its context will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the apparent continuity of burial site function from the post-Roman British to the Anglo-Saxon periods is strongly indicative of a corresponding degree of Christian institutional continuity at Exeter, and this provides an important background to some of the documentary evidence considered below.

Figure 3.1: Reconstruction of the spatial relationships between the late Roman basilica, late Anglo-Saxon minster and Norman cathedral in Exeter


(Based mainly on maps and details in Bidwell 1979, Henderson & Bidwell 1982, Henderson 1999 and Orme & Henderson 1999.)

Note: None of the features shown has been fully excavated, and some details remain conjectural.

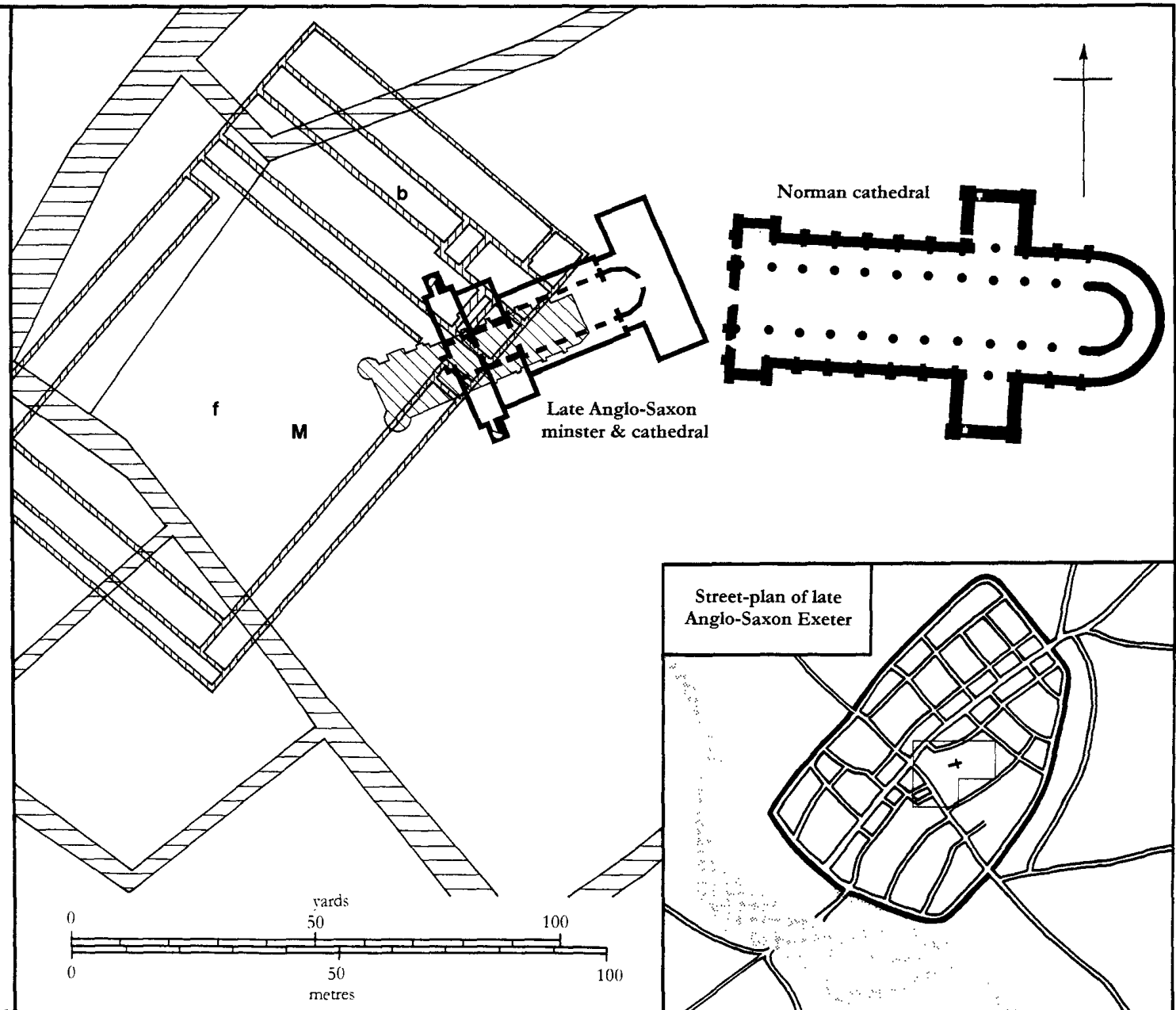
Main map:

-  Roman building plan
- b** Late Roman basilica
- f** Late Roman forum
-  Minster and cathedral building plans
-  Late Anglo-Saxon streets
-  Medieval church of St Mary Major
- M** Possible site of St Mary Minor chapel

Inset:

-  City wall

River Exe



The earliest references to the minsters at Crediton and Exeter are in records that derive from the mid-eighth century. For Crediton, we have a ‘foundation charter’ that in its surviving form is a composite text written shortly after the Norman Conquest and contains much interpolated material including an anachronistic boundary clause.² Nevertheless, it is clear that the writer was reworking an authentic charter of the West Saxon king Æthelheard from the late 730s and there is no reason to suspect its primary content and purpose, which record a grant by the king to bishop Forthhere [of Sherborne] of land at *Cridie* for the purpose of founding a minster (*ad construendum monasterium ... in loco ubi dicitur Cridie*). For Exeter, the first mention of a minster is in the earliest *Life* of St Boniface, written at some point in the thirteen years after his death in 754 by the Anglo-Saxon priest Willibald (who had not met Boniface and relied on the oral testimony of his disciples in Germany).³ It claims that Boniface entered a minster at Exeter (*ad monasterium, quod priscorum nuncupatur vocabulo Ad-Escancastre*) as a child, which implies a date that cannot be much later than c.685.⁴ Although Willibald’s account of Boniface’s early life is often vague and may owe as much to hagiographical topoi as it does to genuine information, there seems to be no good reason to discount his claim that a minster existed at Exeter in the late seventh century.

Neither minster is referred to again in surviving records until the late ninth and early tenth centuries nor has any fabric associated with either minster survived, although cemetery II at

² S 255; Chaplais, 1966, p.10 no.8; Finberg, 1968, pp.82-3; Orme, 1980, pp.97-8; Edwards, 1988, pp.255-8; O’Donovan, 1988, p.liv; Hooke, 1994, p.86 & plate V; Insley, 1998, p.175. The boundary clause [S 1546b MS 2] is discussed separately below. The charter purports to be a grant of 20 hides, but the ‘xx’ is written over an erasure (perhaps to match the assessment of Crediton Hundred in 1086: Reichel, 1923, pp.146-8). Dr Charles Insley (*pers. comm.*, September 2001) informs me that the original reading was probably ‘l’, or 50 hides, although this need not have been the reading in the text that the eleventh-century scribe used as the basis for the extant version: cf. O’Donovan, 1988, pp.xlvii-xlviii, 81; see also pp.83-4 below. I am very grateful to Dr Insley for discussing S 255 and S 1546b with me in advance of his new edition of the Exeter charters.

³ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, the edition used is that of Levison, 1905, pp.1-58, and the translation is that by Talbot, 1954, pp.25-62.

⁴ *Vita Bonifatii* §§1-2; see also chapter 4.2 below (where it is pointed out that the ‘minster’ need not have been of Anglo-Saxon foundation). Boniface’s young age is apparently confirmed by a letter written to him in 719 by Pope Gregory II, who acknowledged that ‘from your childhood you have been a student of Sacred Scripture’: Tangl, 1916, pp.17-8, *ep.*12; Talbot, 1954, pp.68-9 no.3. Boniface seems to have been less than fifty in c.722; but he was at least thirty when he was ordained as a priest, which must have been several years before his first visit to Frisia in 716 (*Vita Bonifatii* §§3-5; Talbot, 1954, pp.32, 34-6, 41), so he appears to have been born after c.672 but before c.684 at the very latest. The usually suggested date for his birth is c.675 (see Barlow, 1980, pp.26-7), although for reasons that I intend to discuss elsewhere at another time I prefer a slightly later date of c.678. Note that the tradition that Boniface was born at Crediton has no early foundation whatsoever, and appears to have been initiated by bishop John de Grandisson in the 1330s: Orme, 1980, pp.97, 107-8 (cf. Pearce, 1978, p.102; Insley, 1998, p.174).

Exeter may have been associated with the early minster there.⁵ It is therefore primarily an assumption - albeit a reasonable and not entirely unsupported one - that at both sites there was institutional continuity throughout the intervening period; but it is certainly the case that subsequent records do not give the impression that either minster was of recent foundation in the late ninth century. Exeter minster is referred to in the *Life* of king Alfred written by the Welsh bishop Asser in 893, who states that (at an unspecified date that was clearly after 886) the king granted him 'Exeter with all the *parochia* belonging to it in England and Cornwall'.⁶ Asser's use of *parochia* is unclear; but the usual contemporary English sense of 'diocese' seems unlikely because Exeter then lay within the see of Sherborne (of which Asser became bishop in 892x900), and it may be that a more general sense of 'jurisdiction' was intended.⁷ If, as has been suggested by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, *parochia* in this latter sense referred simply to the minster, its rights and its dependent possessions (which presumably included lands in Cornwall), then Alfred's grant to Asser may represent a commendation for his role as a royal advisor rather than an appointment as a possible suffragan of Sherborne, although the latter possibility should not be ruled out. In either case, it suggests that the resources and institutional status of Exeter minster had survived the Scandinavian occupation of Exeter during the winter of 876-7 relatively intact.⁸

After the deaths of bishops Denewulf in 908 and Asser in c.909 their respective sees of Winchester and Sherborne were divided on the basis of the existing shire system, and Crediton minster became the episcopal seat for bishop Eadwulf and the new diocese of Devon and Cornwall.⁹ The choice of the minster at Crediton rather than that at Exeter is surprising, because

⁵ The earliest fabric in the present church at Crediton is of twelfth-century date: Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.295-7.

⁶ Asser, *Vita Alfredi* §81: ... *dedit mihi Exanceastre, cum omni parochia, quae ad se pertinebat, in Saxonia et in Cornubia*. The edition used is that of Stevenson, 1959, pp.1-96 (a new impression of his 1904 edition, with additional material by D. Whitelock), and the translation is based on that by Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.67-110.

⁷ Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.49-51, 262 n181, 264-5 n193; Dumville, 1992, p.166 n168; Insley, 1998, p.175 n12; Orme, 2000, p.9; cf. Finberg, 1964a, pp.109-10; *idem*, 1964b, pp.166-7; Conner, 1993, p.23 & n8.

⁸ *Vita Alfredi* §49; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, A-text [hereafter *ASC A*; the edition used is that of Bately, 1986], s.a. 876-7.

⁹ *ASC A* s.a. 909, 910; S 1296; S 1451a; Brooks, 1984, pp.210-13; O'Donovan, 1988, p.lv; Conner, 1993, pp.215-18, 221-3; Insley, 1998, pp.175-6. Note that S 421, which claims to be a grant of privileges by Æthelstan to bishop Eadwulf of Crediton in 933, is probably a later forgery: Chaplais, 1966, pp.11-12 no.10; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xxxi, liii; *contra* Reichel, 1923, p.149.

at first sight Exeter seems better suited to be the centre for a new diocese. Exeter was at least proto-urban, with sufficient defences for the Scandinavians to resist Alfred in 876 and for the inhabitants to withstand a Scandinavian siege in 893, and it formed part of the defence system described in the 'Burghal Hidage'; it was also the site of a royal mint from c.895 onwards, and Edward the Elder's second law code was promulgated at an assembly of the witan at Exeter, possibly earlier rather than later in the period 899x916.¹⁰ Exeter was clearly a place of considerable administrative importance. As it does not appear that either minster lacked resources, the most likely reason for the choice of Crediton is that it was an episcopal estate of Sherborne that could readily be transferred to the new see (several of Sherborne's Somerset estates were acquired by the new bishopric of Wells), whereas Exeter minster was a royal possession that had reverted to the king after Asser's death.¹¹ However, it may be that there was something else about Exeter minster that precluded its choice as the episcopal seat, and this is a possibility to which we shall return shortly.

* * *

The details of subsequent changes during the reigns of Edward (899-924) and his son Æthelstan (924-939) are often uncertain, because many of them are preserved only in later records and contexts. Firstly, it appears that the new diocese of Devon and Cornwall was itself divided. A late tenth-century letter contains an addition to the effect that Æthelstan had appointed Conan to a bishopric 'as far as the Tamar' [which here means 'of Cornwall']; this appointment must pre-date June 931, when bishop Conan occurs as a charter witness, and it is implicitly referred to in a charter (preserved only in a very late copy) by which Æthelstan confirmed to Conan the episcopal

¹⁰ *ASC A s.a.* 877, 894 (on the latter, see also Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, p.287 n9); Todd, 1987, pp.283-5 (for context, see also Yorke, 1995, pp.310-12); Brooks, 1996, pp.138-41; Wormald, 1999a, pp.286-90, 438-9.

¹¹ For the apparent allocation of some of Sherborne's episcopal estates to the new dioceses, see O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xlvi, l-liii; cf. Finberg, 1964a, p.115; Orme, 1980, p.98. However, Insley, 1998, p.175 n11, suggests that the grant of Exeter minster to Asser meant that it too had become an episcopal possession of Sherborne by the time that the see was divided.

territory (*territorium episcopatus*) of St Germans in Cornwall.¹² The letter itself, apparently written by archbishop Dunstan in 980x988, urges Æthelred II to confirm three estates in Cornwall - at Pawton, *Cellwic* and Lawhitton - to the bishop of St Germans.¹³ It claims that these estates were granted to Sherborne by Ecgberht (802-839) and had been transferred to Crediton and then to St Germans after these bishoprics were established; the problem is that they are not the same as the three Cornish estates that Sherborne itself claimed to have received from Ecgberht - at Kilkhampton, *Ros* and Maker - according to a fourteenth-century list whose exemplar apparently pre-dated the division of Sherborne's diocese in c.909.¹⁴

Although the statement that the three estates named in Dunstan's letter originated with a grant by Ecgberht appears to be spurious, it does seem likely that they had been held (or at least claimed) by Crediton and then by St Germans in the early tenth century and that they remained in episcopal hands thereafter; the only exception is that at some point Launceston became detached from the Lawhitton estate.¹⁵ By contrast, the three estates named in the Sherborne list (together with Launceston) appear to have become possessions of the king or his secular officials, and there is no indication that they were held or actively claimed by any bishopric after the division of the Sherborne diocese.¹⁶ It seems reasonable to suggest that these two sets of Cornish

¹² S 413; S 1296; S Plym 1 [not in Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*; the *siglum* is suggested by Keynes *apud* Kelly, 1999]; Finberg, 1964a, p.112 & n3; Chaplais, 1966, pp.9, 16-19 no.18; Whitelock, 1979, pp.892-4 no.229; Fryde *et al*, 1986, p.215; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.liii, lv; Orme, 1991a, pp.19-20; Hooke, 1994, p.18; Insley, 1998, p.176; Kelly, 2000-1, i, pp.99-104 no.23. Note that the suggested date of 926 or 936 for S Plym 1 derives ultimately from Leland and remains uncertain; the charter itself is dated '838' (perhaps associated with bishop Kenstec: see chapter 4.2 below).

¹³ S 1296; S 1451a; Brooks, 1984, pp.211-13; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.lv-lvi; Edwards, 1988, pp.244, 250; Hooke, 1994, pp.16-17, 20; see also fig. 4.5 below, and Hooke, 1999, p.99 map 14.4. Although there are problems with the S 1451a narrative, these do not directly affect the value of the S 1296 letter as evidence in the present discussion. *Cellwic* is probably Kelly in Egloshayle, slightly to the east of Pawton (the attempt by Maxwell, 1998, to identify it with Tregear in Gerrans is unconvincing; see note 15 below); *Ros* used to be identified with Roseland, but Padel (*pers. comm.* cited by O'Donovan) has suggested that it is more likely to be the Rame peninsula, within which Maker lies.

¹⁴ O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xx, xxxvii, xlii, xlviii-li, lvi, 81; Hooke, 1994, p.16; Insley, 1998, p.176 n17.

¹⁵ O'Donovan, 1988, p.lvi; cf. Hull, 1987, p.xii. Pawton and Lawhitton were held by the bishop of Exeter in 1066 and if *Cellwic* is Kelly in Egloshayle it probably lay within his holding at Burniere: Thorn & Thorn, 1979, DB[*Cornwall*] 2,4-5; 2,9. Maxwell's suggestion that *Cellwic* is Tregear in Gerrans rests almost entirely on the fact that Pawton, Lawhitton and Tregear were the three largest episcopal manors in Cornwall in 1066: Maxwell, 1998, pp.41-4.

¹⁶ There is not the space to present this argument in full at this time. Kilkhampton was held by earl Harold in 1066 (as was Launceston), Rame was held by Tavistock abbey (as part of the abbey's initial endowment in c.974x981, received either from Ordwulf, then high-reeve of Cornwall, or from king Æthelred II), and Maker was held by king Edward in 1066: Thorn & Thorn, 1979, DB[*Cornwall*] 1,5; 3,3; 5,2(14); *idem*, 1985, DB[*Devon*] 1,22; see also S 838 (on which see Finberg, 1943, pp.192-3; O'Donovan, 1988, p.xlix; Kelly, 2000-1, i, pp.xci-xciii).

estates had been the subjects of an exchange between either Edward or Æthelstan on the one hand and the bishop of either Sherborne or Crediton on the other. An exchange of this type would not be without a contemporary local parallel, because in 899x909 Edward granted three estates in Somerset to bishop Asser and the *familia* of Sherborne in exchange for the minster at Plympton (in south-west Devon), which may itself have been a fairly recent acquisition on the part of Asser or Sherborne.¹⁷ Furthermore, it is probable that this exchange was part of a royal defence policy in the late ninth and early tenth centuries whereby the West Saxon kings acquired certain strategically important estates through exchange with ecclesiastical communities.¹⁸ It is notable, therefore, that Launceston and the three Cornish estates named in the Sherborne list provide effective control of the river Tamar, and that the royal acquisition of the latter would be in keeping with a defence strategy of this type.¹⁹

Secondly, we have an account by William of Malmesbury, written in c.1125 but summarising an earlier source, that describes Æthelstan's supposed activities in south-western Britain and places these shortly after the submission of the Welsh kings in c.927 but apparently before c.930.²⁰ William claims that the king attacked the Cornish (*Cornewalenses*) and 'forced them to withdraw

¹⁷ S 380; Stevenson, 1959, p.lxvi & n1; Finberg, 1964a, p.108; *idem*, 1964b, p.167; O'Donovan, 1988, p.liv; Hooke, 1994, p.113. Although S 380 survives only in fifteenth- or sixteenth-century copies, it appears to have been the model for a Bath charter of 1061 [S 1034]: Keynes, 1988, pp.203-6. Plympton is not mentioned either among Alfred's gifts to Asser or in the surviving records for Sherborne, and it is not clear whether Plympton had been held by Asser *ad hominem* or was an otherwise unrecorded possession of the community at Sherborne.

¹⁸ Fleming, 1985, pp.250-4; Dumville, 1992, pp.xi, 29-54 (esp. pp.32-3, 39, 44-6), 151-3 [who raises serious questions about aspects of Fleming's research but reaches similar conclusions on this point]; *cf.* Kelly, 2000-1, i, pp.ccviii-ccix.

¹⁹ Maker (together with Rame) and Plympton lie on opposite sides of the Tamar estuary on the south coast, which led Finberg, 1964b, p.167, to suggest that a king might well have a strategic reason for wanting to acquire them. Kilkhampton is on a major northeast-southwest land route along an area of high ground lying between the upper Tamar and the north coast (which respectively form the eastern and western boundaries of the parish); it may also have controlled a small harbour settlement at Duckpool, where excavations have revealed early medieval activity: see Ratcliffe *et al.*, 1995, pp.114-19. Launceston controls the main east-west crossing point of the middle Tamar and has been described as 'the gateway to Cornwall': Maxwell, 1998, p.40.

²⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii, §134.6; the edition used is that by Mynors *et al.*, 1998, although my translation differs slightly from that of *ibid.*, p.217. For the chronological context of *Gesta*, ii, §§134.1-135.1, see Thomson & Winterbottom, 1999, pp.120, 122-3. The nature of William's 'lost source' - perhaps a panegyric written in Æthelstan's lifetime - was discussed by Stenton, 1971, pp.319 n1, 339 n2, 340-2, 699 (see also Finberg, 1953, pp.26-7); its authenticity was challenged by Lapidge, 1981, pp.62-71 (see also Dumville, 1992, pp.142-3 n9, 168), but recent work has concluded that William did indeed have access to an earlier source of this type: Thomson & Winterbottom, 1999, pp.116-18 (see also Wormald, 1999a, pp.138 n83, 382 n529; Campbell, 2000, p.138). As to whether a linguistically 'Cornish' population existed in Exeter in the early tenth century, note the qualification made in chapter 4.3 below on the basis of the local place-name evidence.

from Exeter, where until that time they had lived in equal rights with the English (*quam ad id temporis aequo cum Anglis iure inhabitarent*), setting the boundary of their province at the river Tamar just as he had fixed the river Wye as a boundary for the northern Britons; having purified that city by purging it of a contaminated people, he then fortified it with towers and ringed it with a wall of squared stones.’ Although it is clear that either William or his source has exaggerated Æthelstan’s achievements (as is shown by the description of what was at most a refurbishment of Exeter’s Roman walls), beneath the rhetoric there are the implications that Æthelstan initiated some kind of local political reorganisation and perhaps that an identifiably Cornish body had previously existed or been recognised in Exeter. If Æthelstan did indeed establish the Tamar as an administrative or jurisdictional boundary between Cornish and English in a manner similar to his settlement with the Welsh, then a potential analogue is provided by the ‘Dunsæte Ordinance’, a contemporary document that describes the procedures for dealing with local interactions and disputes between English and Welsh living on either side of a river that appears to be the Wye.²¹

Thirdly, there survives an Old English text known as the ‘Æthelstan Donation’, written in the second half of the eleventh century, which appears to be a sermon intended for a public display of the numerous relics held by the Exeter minster.²² It claims that Æthelstan visited Exeter after he became the sole ruler of all England (which implies a date after autumn 927), and that on a subsequent visit he ordered the building of a minster dedicated to St Mary and St Peter, for the endowment of which he gave twenty-six ‘households’ (*cottlifa*) and one-third of his collection of relics.²³ We cannot be certain that this account has a reliable basis, but the accompanying relic-list seems to have been compiled from earlier labels attached to the relics themselves and the composition of the collection is broadly consistent with the date and context claimed for its

²¹ The discussion by Gelling, 1993, pp.112-18, 162, is of particular relevance here; see also Wormald, 1999a, pp.381-2.

²² Rose-Troup, 1931, pp.189-91, 212-15; Conner, 1993, pp.25-9, 171-87.

²³ The precise meaning of Old English *cottlifa* is obscure, but ‘households’ seems to be a less misleading translation than ‘hamlets’, ‘manors’ or ‘estates’; cf. Toller, 1921, p.133; Harmer, 1952, p.496n; Smith, 1956, i, pp.108-10. Rose-Troup, 1931, pp.189-90, suggested that *cottlif* had the same sense as OE *hūwisc* ‘(land of) a household, family’ and Latin *mansa* ‘measure of land, hide’, and argued that the lands held or claimed by Exeter minster in the late eleventh century had a total assessment of just over 26 hides; cf. Reichel, 1898, pp.304-5, and pp.80-1 & note 69 below. The *Record of Moving* (on which see below) claims that Æthelstan’s gift comprised 26 *terrae* ‘lands’: see Conner, 1993, p.225.

origins.²⁴ Furthermore, the belief that Æthelstan had founded the minster at Exeter, although not recorded in any surviving document that definitely pre-dates Leofric's episcopacy, was clearly regarded from the mid-eleventh century onwards as the legal basis for the minster's claim to its estates.²⁵ By the same token, the minster's 'pre-Æthelstan' history was apparently either forgotten or deliberately ignored, which suggests that it served no useful purpose in legitimising the minster's rights or endowment, and this also points to a hiatus in the early tenth century.²⁶ On balance, therefore, it seems very probable that Æthelstan had indeed refounded and re-endowed Exeter minster in the late 920s or 930s, while the change of alignment between cemeteries II and III at some point after c.900 may provide independent support for this.²⁷ What is unclear, however, is why such refoundation was necessary for what apparently had been a well-endowed minster when Alfred granted it to Asser some forty years earlier.

The various texts discussed above represent either entirely or effectively independent accounts. At some points their veracity remains open to question, and when considered separately they can be, and have been, used as the basis for diverse interpretations of events and circumstances in Exeter and the south-west in the early tenth century. Yet it is also possible that they relate, directly or indirectly, to different aspects of the same set of events. From other sources it appears that Æthelstan's second law code (confusingly referred to as 'V Æthelstan') was issued from Exeter, most probably at Christmas 930x1 or perhaps at Christmas 934, and that there were other meetings of Æthelstan and his witan at Exeter in Easter 928 and November 932 and at Lifton (a royal estate across the Tamar from Lawhitton and Launceston, and from which certain royal estates in Cornwall were administered) in November 931.²⁸ It is notable that the Welsh 'sub-kings' Hywel and Idwal witnessed charters issued at the Easter 928 and November 931 meetings;

²⁴ Conner, 1993, pp.172-3; see also Whitelock, 1979, p.892 no.228; Dumville, 1992, pp.155 & n91, 156-7, 163, 168.

²⁵ Chaplais, 1966, pp.7-8; Conner, 1993, pp.23-4 n11, 219 & n12, 225 §6.

²⁶ The only hint that Exeter's earlier history was remembered is that four late eleventh-century forgeries [S 386-7, S 389, S 433], purporting to be grants by Æthelstan, were given the spurious date of '670': see Insley, 1998, p.174 (following an earlier suggestion by Pearce, and derived from Rose-Troup, 1931, pp.181 n1, 216-17); see also below.

²⁷ Allan *et al*, 1984, pp.392-3.

²⁸ Brooks, 1984, p.217 & n27; Wormald, 1999a, pp.290-1 n129, 295-7, 299ff, 432 table 6.2, 439-40, 444. For Lifton, see S 416; S 1507; Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.175, 321 n56; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,25.

it may also be significant that bishop Conan was present in 931 but was not among the fourteen bishops present at Easter 928.²⁹ Obviously, the fragmentary nature of the surviving material does not allow us to reconstruct a comprehensive itinerary for Æthelstan's reign - there are notable gaps during 929 and the first half of 932, for example - but it does reduce the range of 'possible dates' for the king's activities, and suggests that Æthelstan was particularly involved in south-western affairs during the middle years of his reign. Within these limits, there is a reasonable degree of chronological consistency in the various accounts discussed above; rather more tentatively, it can be suggested that the events they describe were connected with two or three visits made by Æthelstan to the Exeter area between Easter 928 and Christmas 931.

We can now try to draw some of these threads together. At some point between July 924 and June 931 (and perhaps after Easter 928) the see of Crediton was divided and a bishop with a Brittonic name was appointed to serve Cornwall. The new see of St Germans later received three Cornish estates that had belonged to the bishop of Crediton and originally may have been acquired from Edward or Æthelstan in exchange for three episcopal estates on the river Tamar that were required for strategic reasons. The diocesan reorganisation of Devon and Cornwall was probably accompanied by changes in local administrative organisation; these were perhaps initiated in early 928 and finalised at the meeting of the witan at Lifton in November 931. As one result of this reorganisation, the Cornish may have lost certain rights that they had possessed in Exeter. When taken together, the evidence suggests that Æthelstan (and perhaps Edward before him) was deliberately separating local ecclesiastical, administrative, jurisdictional and military organisation between the shires of Devon and Cornwall, and that more ambiguous, integrated or dual systems had operated within the Anglo-Cornish society of the region previously.

²⁹ For Easter 928, see S 400; Birch, 1885-9, ii, pp.340-2 no.663 (bishops Wigred of Chester-le-Street, Wynsige of Dorchester and Beornheah of Selsey are absent, although two 'unassigned' bishops, Buga and Æscberht, are present). S 399, issued on the same occasion, refers to the *subreguli* but has a truncated witness-list: Watkin, 1956, pp.670-1 no.1235. For November 931, see S 416; Birch, 1885-1899, ii, pp.363-6 no.677 (which includes all known diocesan bishops together with three 'unassigned' bishops, of whom one is again Æscberht). For the episcopal lists, see Fryde *et al*, 1986, pp.213-24 (*cf.* p.211). The charter from November 932 (S 418a) is not yet available in a printed edition.

It is within the broad context of these developments that Æthelstan's probable refoundation of Exeter minster needs to be considered. The earliest information about the landed endowment that the minster claimed to have received from Æthelstan comes from four forged charters and a document of 1069x1072 known as 'Leofric's Inventory'.³⁰ If the minster's claims had a reliable basis, which seems likely but remains open to question, then it is notable that its estates were all located to the east of Dartmoor and within twenty miles of Exeter.³¹ In other words, the eleventh-century evidence suggests that at some point between Alfred's grant of the minster to Asser in 886x893 and its refoundation by Æthelstan in c.931, Exeter minster had lost that part of its *parochia* that had lain in Cornwall. It seems distinctly possible, therefore, that the refoundation of Exeter minster was necessary because either Edward or Æthelstan had dismantled all or part of its earlier *parochia* (whatever the precise meaning intended by Asser's use of the word) as part of their policies in the south-west. If so, then this suggests that the function and status of Exeter and its *parochia* were in some way superseded by, or contrary to, the new policies; it may also be that similar considerations affected the choice of Crediton rather than Exeter as the episcopal seat after the division of Sherborne's diocese. However, further speculation should be postponed until the rest of the evidence presented in this and the following chapter has been discussed.

* * *

Surviving charters and other documents show that Crediton minster maintained a continuous institutional existence throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries.³² Similarly, the episcopal succession at Crediton can be followed from Eadwulf in the early tenth century through to the

³⁰ S 386-7, S 389, S 433; for Leofric's *Inventory*, see note 40 below. The clause *nam ex .xxvi. terris quas rex religiosus Æthelstanus illuc dedit, nix una uilissima remansit* in the *Record of Mowing* (also note 40 below) clearly corresponds to *7 he ne funde, þa he to ðam minstre feng, nan mare landes þe ðiderinn gewilde wære þonne .ii. bida landes æt Ide* in the *Inventory*.

³¹ Independent confirmation that one of these estates was in Exeter's hands prior to Leofric's episcopacy may be provided by S 1452, a list of sureties to an agreement between 'abbess Eadgifu' and 'abbot Leofric' regarding land at *Stoctune* (almost certainly Stoke Canon) that has usually been dated either to c.980x990 (when an abbot Leofric of Exeter witnesses several charters) or to 1019 (on the basis of the witness list): see Rose-Troup, 1931, pp.207-8 & plate V; Robertson, 1956, pp.98-9, 343-4; see also Conner, 1993, p.89 & n146. However, the agreement is undated and is an addition to the *Leofric Missal* made in the mid-eleventh century: see Ker, 1957, pp.378-9 no.315.

³² e.g. S 405; S 890; S 1387; S 1492; see also Insley, 1998, pp.189-90 (*re* S 890 & S 1492), and see discussions below.

death of bishop Lyfing in 1046, during whose episcopacy the sees of Devon and Cornwall were effectively recombined.³³ The merger was formalised by Lyfing's successor Leofric, who in 1050 prevailed upon both Edward the Confessor and pope Leo IX to allow him to transfer the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter, where he reorganised the minster as a cathedral with a chapter governed by the quasi-monastic Rule of St Chrodegang.³⁴

The archaeological evidence suggests that there was institutional continuity at Exeter minster between its refoundation by Æthelstan and the arrival of Leofric, although documentary evidence for this is sparse.³⁵ Regulations for an Exeter guild were added to an eighth-century gospel in the first half of the tenth century, and the addition of further local material in the mid-tenth and early eleventh centuries implies the long-term continuity of a local ecclesiastical institution.³⁶ That this institution was Exeter minster is made almost certain by an entry made in 955x959, whereby provost Byrhtic recorded the manumission of an Exeter churchwarden in the presence of king Eadwig, bishop Daniel and ealdorman Æthelwold. Furthermore, the twelfth-century chronicler John of Worcester claims that king Edgar appointed Sidemann as abbot of Exeter in 968, where he served until he became bishop of Crediton in 973; the account seems to be a reliable one, and two later abbots of Exeter - Leofric and Brihthelm - occur in witness-lists of the 980s and 990s.³⁷

It is apparent that Exeter minster was still served by a religious community in the late tenth century, but its history during the first half of the eleventh century is obscure. There were major Scandinavian raids on the Exeter area in 1001 and 1003, and on the second occasion the city

³³ Fryde *et al.*, 1986, p.215.

³⁴ S 1021; Blake, 1974, pp.47-51; Conner, 1993, pp.215-25; Barlow, 1996a, pp.liv-lv; Insley, 1998, pp.176-7, 192.

³⁵ Unlike Crediton, there is little evidence for a scriptorium at Exeter during this period: Insley, 1998, pp.193-5 & n110; Wormald, 1999a, p.223 n240; *contra* Conner, 1993, pp.13, 19, 33-9, 42-7, 94 *et passim*.

³⁶ Rose-Troup, 1931, p.192 & plate II (facing p.184); Rosser, 1988, p.31; Orme, 1991a, p.18; Conner, 1993, pp.29, 165-70; Crouch, 2000, pp.160-1. It appears that the removal of this leaf from the gospel (which has not survived) and the erasure of part of the original gospel text occurred after the latest addition to it, which suggests that the book had survived intact and usable until at least the early eleventh century.

³⁷ John of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, s.a. 968 (note that this annal does not state that Sidemann led a group of Glastonbury monks to reform Exeter, merely that he was appointed 'as abbot to rule the monks gathered at Exeter': *Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus, monachis in Exanceastra congregatis, uirum religiosum Sidemannum illis abbatis iure prefecit*), 972; the editions used are those of Darlington & McGurk, 1995 (for the annals 450-1066) and McGurk, 1998 (for the annals 1067-1041). See also Keynes, 1980, p.236 & tables 4-5; Conner, 1993, pp.29-31, 84-5; *cf.* Insley, 1998, p.177 n24; Kelly, 2000-1, ii, p.449.

itself was plundered; a post-Conquest forgery - purporting to be a confirmation of privileges from Cnut in 1019 - states that the minster's earlier records had been burnt when the minster was destroyed by the Danes, which (as Pierre Chaplais observed) is an odd detail for a forger to invent.³⁸ However, an 'abbot Æthelwold' and the *hired* ('household', or 'religious community') of Exeter occur before the *hired* of Crediton among the witnesses to a lease of c.1018 that survives in a mid-eleventh-century copy.³⁹ In addition, there survive two later documents, 'Leofric's Inventory' [hereafter the *Inventory*], written towards the end of Leofric's episcopacy in 1069x1072, and 'The Record of Moving the See of Devon' [hereafter the *Record of Moving*], completed after his death in 1072.⁴⁰ Together, they claim that the minster's lands, books and adornments had been despoiled to the extent that in 1050 it retained only one estate of two hides at Ide, three books, two lectionaries, one set of mass-vestments and a casket of relics. Although the minster's impoverishment may have been exaggerated in order to emphasise Leofric's achievements, it clearly implies the survival of Exeter minster throughout the early eleventh century.⁴¹

Bishop Leofric attempted to restore his new cathedral's alienated lands and at times appears to have resorted to forged charters to achieve this, while his efforts were continued by his successor, bishop Osbern (1072-1103).⁴² Leofric also supplemented Exeter's endowment from his own private estates and, as bishop, retained the estates previously associated with Crediton, which presumably included both the endowment of Crediton minster itself and the episcopal estates acquired since the early tenth century. By the eve of the Conquest the combined holdings of the bishop and cathedral of Exeter within the Exeter hinterland area comprised a complex accretion

³⁸ ASC A s.a. 1001; ASC E [see Plummer, 1892-9] s.a. 1003; S 954; Chaplais, 1966, pp.4-5, 23; Conner, 1993, pp.21-2. No such conflagration or destruction was detected by the archaeological investigations of the minster site, but the excavated remains were not sufficiently well preserved to allow us to dismiss the forger's claim on these grounds.

³⁹ S 1387 (...7 æðelwold abbud · 7 eall se hired on exan cestre 7 se hired on cridian tūne); Napier & Stevenson, 1895, pp.9, 79; Smith, 1956, i, p.247 s.n. hired, hīwan; Chaplais, 1966, p.11; see also note 86 below.

⁴⁰ The edition of the *Inventory* used is that by Conner, 1993, pp.230-5 (with reference to that by Förster, 1933a); for the *Record of Moving*, the edition is that by Conner, 1993, pp.221-5.

⁴¹ Conner, 1993, pp.226-8; Insley, 1998, p.176 n19; Wormald, 1999a, p.223 n240.

⁴² For Leofric's forgeries, see Chaplais, 1966, *passim*; these charters will be reassessed in Dr Insley's forthcoming edition. Osbern's activities on the cathedral's behalf are less well recorded than those of Leofric, but he defended its exclusive burial rights within the city in the face of archiepiscopal and papal opposition, and contested the possession of Newton St Cyres before the king's barons: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2; Barlow, 1996a, pp.6-7 no.8 (note).

of estates, for many of which little or no reliable earlier documentation survives. Any attempt to reconstruct the original parishes of the minsters at Crediton and Exeter, therefore, must begin by unravelling the details of their endowments as recorded by Domesday and the *Inventory*. These details, when combined with that from surviving pre-Conquest sources, also provide the basis for a reconstruction of the ‘episcopal’ fief in 1066 (see Fig. 2.5 above).

All the holdings of the bishop and the minsters in his possession are grouped together in Domesday, with the Exchequer text listing them as the ‘Lands of the bishop of Exeter’ and the *Exon* text calling them the ‘Lands of the church of St Peter, Exeter’. Of the twenty-four Domesday entries for this ‘episcopal’ fief in 1086, thirteen included lands lying within Exeter’s hinterland area, and Domesday implies that all but one of these (Sidbury) had been in bishop Leofric’s possession in 1066. The only distinction made within the fief is that five holdings were noted as being ‘for the canons’ supplies’ in 1086, which led Holdsworth to suggest that a division of lands between the bishop and the Exeter chapter had already begun.⁴³ That this episcopal fief did not in fact form a homogeneous group is shown by the *Inventory*, which deals solely with the possessions of Exeter minster. Fourteen of the twenty-two estates mentioned by the *Inventory* lay within the Exeter hinterland area, of which two or three were not part of the episcopal fief in Domesday while the remainder account for only six or seven of the entries that were included, and it follows that the remaining six Domesday entries refer to episcopal holdings that were not regarded as part of Exeter minster’s endowment.

* * *

The *Inventory* lists the alienated lands of Exeter minster that Leofric had regained (*þæt he hæfð geinnod þæt ær gentod wæs*) and then the lands that he had added to its endowment from his own resources (*se eaca on landum þe he hæfð of his agenum*), with a note that when Leofric arrived the

⁴³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,5-8; 2,22; Holdsworth 1986, p.52 (and for a probable parallel at Worcester, cf. Dyer, 1980, pp.18-19). Of the holdings ‘for the canons’ supplies’, only Dawlish and Ide lie within Exeter’s hinterland (the others were Staverton, St Marychurch and Branscombe); as Dawlish was an estate that Leofric gave to the cathedral [see below], it appears that the allocation of particular estates for canons’ supplies was a fairly recent development.

minster retained only its estate at Ide.⁴⁴ Domesday includes Ide within the episcopal fief in both 1066 and 1086 and, like the *Inventory*, records its assessment as two hides.⁴⁵ However, although this is the only Domesday holding that can be located within the parish of Ide, the *Inventory*'s list of 'regained lands' also refers to land at *Morveshille* that can be identified as Marshall in Ide parish.⁴⁶ If, as seems likely, Marshall was subsumed within the Domesday entry for Ide, then the fact that the latter's hidage was unaffected by this may indicate that the minster's reacquisition of Marshall was more recent than the Edwardian documents on which the Domesday assessments were based.⁴⁷ Among the other 'regained lands' listed by the *Inventory* and lying within the Exeter hinterland area, the Domesday entries for those at Salcombe and *Brihtrices stane* (the largest holding within Clyst Honiton parish) suggest that both were recovered before 1066.⁴⁸ The recovery of Sidbury may belong to the period between 1066 and 1069x1072, because although it was certainly in the cathedral's hands by 1086 and remained so thereafter, Domesday states that Alwin and Godwin held Sidbury in 1066.⁴⁹ The situation with regard to *Sidefullan hwiisc* is less certain. Although the *Inventory* clearly refers to the cathedral's holding in Exeter St Sidwell parish and is probably represented by the Domesday entry that records an unnamed church in Exeter to which houses and part of the city lands were attached, it is just possible that Domesday refers to the bishop's church of St Stephen rather than to the cathedral's church of St Sidwell.⁵⁰

In the case of the 'regained land' at Stoke Canon, it seems that Leofric had to settle for slightly less than the original extent of the holding. Exeter minster apparently had held the right of

⁴⁴ *Inventory*, §§1-6; on what follows, see also the brief discussion by Blake, 1974, pp.51-2. The 'regained lands' lying outside the Exeter hinterland area - at Culmstock, Branscombe, St Marychurch, Staverton and Sparkwell - are not discussed here, nor are the 'added lands' at Bampton, Aston and Chimney in Oxfordshire.

⁴⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,6.

⁴⁶ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.498; Förster, 1933a, p.18 n27. Marshall was treated as a separate holding of ½ ploughland and 1 ferling in the mid-thirteenth century: see Reichel, 1912a, p.303 no.595.

⁴⁷ See chapter 2.3 above *re* the probable Edwardian basis for Domesday's hidage assessments.

⁴⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,16-17 (*cf.* 1,56n; 15,20; 52,18); Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.584; Förster, 1933a, p.19 n29.

⁴⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,15.

⁵⁰ Curtis, 1932, pp.11-19; Allan *et al*, 1984, pp.398, 407; *contra* Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,1 (citing Reichel, 1898, p.308); see also Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.72 no.841; Cronne & Davis, 1968, no.284; Blake, 1972, pp.15-16, 25-6; chapter 2.3 above at note 113; but *cf.* Eugenius III's grant of papal protection to the bishop of Exeter in 1153, which included *ecclesiam sancti Stephani, que est intra civitatem Exonie, cum omnibus terris appendiciis suis*. Holzmann, 1935-6, pp.249-51 no.78. For the place-name, see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.437; Smith, 1956, i, p.248; but *cf.* Förster, 1933a, pp.18-19 n28, who suggests that *Sidefullan hwiisc* means '(St) Sidwell's monastery'.

reversion when Stoke was leased out in or before the early eleventh century, so it may be that the minster had held the land previously but later failed to recover it when the lease expired; in any event, there was no reference to the minster in the charter by which Cnut granted one *mansa* at Stoke to his *minister* Hunuwine in c.1031.⁵¹ A holding of one hide at Stoke was again in the minster's possession by 1066, but while the boundaries of Stoke Canon parish conform closely to those given in Cnut's charter (and those of an Exeter charter forged during Leofric's episcopacy), it is notable that they omit an area around Rewe that had formed the north-eastern part of Hunuwine's *mansa*.⁵² In 1066, Rewe was the central place for an estate held by Wulfnoth, who also held lands immediately to the west and north of Stoke, and there is a strong possibility that Rewe had been retained by Wulfnoth or his predecessor as part of the agreement whereby Leofric regained control of Stoke.⁵³ If so, then 1050x1066 may provide a *terminus post quem* for the formation of Rewe parish, which incorporated Wulfnoth's holdings of Rewe and Up Exe and straddled the boundary between Wonford and Silverton hundreds.

The *Inventory*'s claim that Leofric regained the minster's land at Newton St Cyres may also disguise a complex situation, particularly as the restitution was apparently short-lived. Domesday records that bishop Osbern produced charters to show that St Peter's had held Newton prior to Edward the Confessor's reign and that this claim had been upheld by the king's barons after the Conquest; yet the entry concludes with the statement that 'Dunn holds it', while a separate entry among the 'Lands of the king's thegns' records that Dunn held Newton from king Edward in 1066 and claimed to hold it from William I in 1086, with no mention of the cathedral.⁵⁴ Although it is possible that Dunn acquired the holding as a tenant of St Peter's, his claim to be a tenant-in-chief proved more effective than Osbern's charters, with the result that Newton had escheated to

⁵¹ S 971; S 1452; Chaplais, 1966, pp.23-4 no.23; Insley, 1998, pp.191-2; see also note 31 above. It seems likely that Hunuwine had also acquired the minster's holding at Topsham before c.1045: see Pelteret, 1990, p.115 no.138.

⁵² S 389-90; DRO Stoke Canon tithe map (1839) [=PRO IR 30/9/382]; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,13; Chaplais, 1966, pp.5-7 no.3; Hooke, 1994, pp.134-7, 195-6.

⁵³ Wulfnoth's holdings in 1066 included Rewe and Brampford Speke in Wonford Hundred, Netherexe and Up Exe (the northern part of Rewe parish) in Silverton Hundred, and an unnamed hide that is more likely to have lain in Silverton Hundred than in that of [West] Budleigh: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,67-71; see also note 196 below.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, DB 2,2; 52,34; Davidson, 1878, pp.252-3; Reichel, 1923, p.174; Galbraith, 1961, pp.120-2; Finberg, 1968, pp.83-4.

the king by the early twelfth century (as had Dunn's holding at Nutwell in Woodbury) before being granted to Plympton priory by Emma de Pont de l'Arche in c.1150.⁵⁵ Whatever the truth of the matter, however, Leofric and Osbern clearly regarded Newton as a former possession of the minster at Exeter rather than of that at Crediton, and this is a point to which we will return shortly. It is also worth noting that a second holding within Newton St Cyres, at Norton in the north-east of the parish, is included among the 'regained lands' in the *Inventory*. In this instance it seems that Leofric's efforts were more successful, and although Norton is not mentioned in Domesday it does occur as one of the cathedral chapter's possessions in post-Conquest records.⁵⁶

The last two 'regained lands' within Exeter's hinterland, at Topsham and *Clist*, occur as interlineations by the original scribes in both of the eleventh-century texts of the *Inventory*, and neither estate is included in the episcopal fief in Domesday.⁵⁷ With regard to Topsham, the *Inventory* states that although Leofric had restored the land to St Peter's it was unjustly confiscated by Harold (*þeah ðe Harold hit mid unlage ut nam*), and Domesday records Topsham as one of earl Harold's holdings in 1066 that had passed to William I after the Conquest.⁵⁸ On the basis of these details and three charters relating to Topsham that were forged at Exeter in the second half of the eleventh century, Chaplais has convincingly reconstructed a sequence of events whereby Leofric regained Topsham in 1050x1066 only to have it usurped by Harold before the Conquest, after which the cathedral made two further (and unsuccessful) attempts to recover the estate.⁵⁹

The situation with regard to the land at *Clist* is more puzzling, and although the estate clearly lay somewhere in the Clyst valley its precise location remains uncertain. The only clue provided

⁵⁵ Bearman, 1994, pp.163-4 no.16; Barlow, 1996b, p.306 n28; *cf.* Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 52,35.

⁵⁶ e.g. Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, pp.296-7; Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.247-9 no.77; see note 88 & pp.116-18 below.

⁵⁷ Förster, 1933a, pp.11, 19 & n30, 20 n35 (whose suggestion that a fifteenth-century text was derived from an earlier exemplar than the extant OE texts is refuted by Conner); Conner, 1993, pp. 230 n15, 231 n17, 239-40.

⁵⁸ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,44. Hunuwine apparently held Topsham in c.1045: see Pelteret, 1990, p.115 no.138.

⁵⁹ S 433, MS 1-3; Chaplais, 1966, pp.4-8 nos.4-6 (but *cf.* Förster, 1933a, p.19 n30, who suggests that the interlineation in the *Inventory* was itself part of an attempt to recover Topsham after Leofric's death). However, while Chaplais assumes that the third attempt to recover Topsham was successful, the evidence that he cites refers only to Topsham church (see Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.247-9 no.77). The holding passed to Harding (son of Eadnoth the Staller) after 1086, from whom it was acquired by Henry I (in exchange for Colaton Raleigh) and granted to Richard de Redvers; it was not apparently ever in the cathedral's possession after the Conquest: see Reichel, 1903, pp.286-7; Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.96; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,46; Pelteret, 1990, pp.105-6 no.107, 110-11 no.123; Bearman, 1994, pp.20, 76-7 no.7.

by the *Inventory* is that *Cl̥ist* was the land ‘that Wid had’ (*þe Wid hædde*), which probably refers to the holder from whom Leofric supposedly obtained it but could imply a later usurpation similar to that of Harold at Topsham. It is possible that *Cl̥ist* is referred to in a late eleventh-century Exeter forgery that purports to be a grant by king Edgar of land at *Cl̥ystwicon* to one Æthelnoth in c.961; underlying this possibility are the reasonable assumptions that the charter was forged to serve the cathedral’s contemporary interests and that Æthelnoth was presumed to have given *Cl̥ystwicon* to Exeter minster.⁶⁰ However, the extent of *Cl̥ystwicon* is itself uncertain because the charter bounds may represent all or only part of the area comprising Clyst St George (known as ‘Clystwick’ in post-Conquest records) and Clyst St Mary parishes together with the part of Bishopsclyst that lay in Sowton parish.⁶¹ Furthermore, none of the Domesday landholders in this area can be associated with either Wid or the cathedral: Bishopsclyst in Sowton formed part of the *Cl̥is* held by Edric in 1066 and Bishopsclyst in Farringdon was the *Cl̥iste* held by Wigod the priest, both of which passed to Geoffrey de Mowbray after the Conquest; *Chisewic* (Clyst St George) passed from Wichin to Ralph of Pomeroy’s subtenant Roger Blunt; while the 1066 holder of Clyst St Mary is unknown because the details of the Helléan fief (the family holding it in 1086) are incomplete.⁶² Although it is tempting to identify Wid’s *Cl̥ist* with part of *Cl̥ystwicon*, therefore, there is insufficient evidence to support this identification and it must be admitted that *Cl̥ist* might have lain anywhere along the river Clyst between Plymtree and Topsham.

Finally, the *Inventory* records Dawlish, Holcombe and Southwood among the lands that Leofric gave to Exeter cathedral from his own resources. All three estates formed part of the cathedral’s Domesday holding of Dawlish and had originally been granted to Leofric by Edward the Confessor in 1044, the charter bounds of which grant correspond almost exactly to the combined

⁶⁰ S 669; Chaplais, 1966, pp.6 no.7, 8-9. Another possibility is that *Cl̥ist* formed a part of St Peter’s holding at *Bedricestan* (in Clyst Honiton; the *Brihtrices stane* of the *Inventory*): Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,17 & ch.2 notes.

⁶¹ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.585 & n1; Alcock, 1971, pp.26-31 (*cf. idem*, 1973, pp.141-3, 148); Hooke, 1994, pp.161-4.

⁶² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,7; 3,93; 34,30; ch.44 notes. The name Wid may represent either Wido (=Guy) or, more probably, Withi; but although the latter name and those of Wigod and Wichin are ultimately of Scandinavian origin, all three names are clearly distinct from each other: see von Feilitzen, 1937, pp.404-5, 407 (*s.n.* Vigot, Víkingr, Viði); *contra* Chaplais, 1966, p.9. I am very grateful to Professor Nicholas Brooks (*pers. comm.*, May 1999), Dr Margaret Gelling (*pers. comm.*, November 2001) and Peter Kitson (*pers. comm.*, March 2002) for discussing these names with me.

parishes of Dawlish and East Teignmouth, while the charter by which Leofric transferred Holcombe to the cathedral's possession in 1069 has also survived.⁶³ Although the details of these estates and charters do not directly concern us at this stage, they do emphasise that the distinction between the 'added' and 'regained' lands made by the *Inventory* was a real one.

This does not mean, however, that the list of 'regained lands' represents the whole of the endowment that Exeter minster claimed to have received from Æthelstan. Admittedly, the forged charters for Topsham, Stoke Canon and Culmstock (one of the 'regained lands' lying outside the Exeter hinterland area) were all attributed to Æthelstan, while a late thirteenth-century claim that Sidbury and Branscombe (another 'regained' estate lying outside Exeter's hinterland) were also grants by Æthelstan should not be discounted too swiftly.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the *Record of Moving* implies that Ide was another estate that Exeter received from Æthelstan; indeed, the late eighteenth-century antiquary Richard Polwhele appears to have possessed a charter to this effect, although this has since been lost.⁶⁵ However, one of Exeter's late eleventh-century 'Æthelstan forgeries' refers to an estate at *Munecatun*, now Wyke in the south of Shobrooke parish and adjacent to Norton, which shows that the *Inventory* does not include all of the lands then claimed as part of Exeter's endowment from Æthelstan.⁶⁶ In addition, if Wid's *Clist* was part of *Clystwicon*, then the *Inventory* apparently includes lands that were acquired after the refoundation by

⁶³ S 1003; Davidson, 1881, pp.113-18, 121-6; Gover *et al*, 1932, pp.491n2, 493, 503; Chaplais, 1966, pp.26-8 no.26, 31-3 no.28; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,5; Hooke, 1994, pp.203-7, 213-16; Bates, 1998, pp.463-5 no.138. The correspondence between the parish and charter boundaries is not quite exact because there is a strip of land along the river Tame that lies within East Teignmouth parish but outside the land-units defined by the 1044 and 1069 charters. As the S 1003 bounds indicate the presence of salterns in the immediate vicinity, it seems reasonable to identify this strip of land with the 'Holcombe' held by Aelmer in 1066 and by Ralph of Pomeroy in 1086, the entire value of which appears to have then derived from the payments made by four salt-workers; this identification (which I hope to discuss in greater detail at a later time) seems to resolve the key differences between the interpretations offered by Davidson (1881, p.130), Reichel (1915, p.227) and Thorn & Thorn (1985, DB 34,11).

⁶⁴ S 386; S 389-90; S 433; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 68.

⁶⁵ Polwhele, 1793-1806, i, p.221 & n^o: 'I have a copy of king Athelstan's grant of Ide, to the church of Exeter. It is written on a parchment, 14 inches by 9 - Dated 937.' Polwhele intended to include the text in an appendix to volume iii of his *History* (see *ibid.*, i, p.xii), but this was never completed because of a lack of funds. This lost charter is not noticed by Finberg 1953, *idem* 1960, Sawyer 1968 or Kelly 1999. It is possible that the charter or a transcript of it survives among Polwhele's letters and papers, although I have not as yet been able to check this. On the basis of Polwhele's description, its closest affinities seem to lie with S 433 MS 1 (on which see Chaplais, 1966, pp.6-8 no.6).

⁶⁶ S 387; Chaplais, 1966, p.5 no.2; Hooke, 1990, pp.200-2; *idem*, 1994, pp.141-4; *cf.* Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 15,3.

Æthelstan, while a similar note of caution is sounded by Polwhele's claim that Salcombe had been granted to the minster by Cnut, although in this instance the basis for his statement is unclear.⁶⁷

* * *

The early sources such as Domesday and the *Inventory* provide us with a valuable insight into the vicissitudes of Exeter minster's landed endowment during the tenth and eleventh centuries, even though many details remain uncertain. A notable feature of the lands held or claimed by the minster within Exeter's hinterland is that they constitute two distinct groups: Sidbury and Salcombe (together with Branscombe) form a compact group of adjacent holdings about fifteen miles to the east of Exeter, while the other holdings form a more diffuse group whose constituents all lay within six miles of the city.⁶⁸ What, if anything, might underlie these discrete groups is not immediately apparent, however. One potential difficulty here is that, with the exception of the forged *Munecatun* charter, we only know about those cases in which Leofric's efforts to recover alienated estates were at least partly successful; it is possible that there were other 'lost' estates, although the available evidence suggests that any such omissions may not represent a significant proportion of the lands that the minster received from Æthelstan.⁶⁹ A perhaps more serious difficulty, particularly with regard to the present study, is that the early sources considered so far do not reveal whether Exeter minster had parochial as well as tenurial

⁶⁷ S 669; Polwhele, 1793-1806, i, p.221.

⁶⁸ No distinct grouping is apparent among the 'regained' lands (apart from Branscombe) lying outside the Exeter hinterland area: Culmstock lies about 18 miles to the north-east of Exeter, while Staverton and Sparkwell (in Staverton parish) lie about 20 miles to the south-west of the city and St Marychurch lies about 17 miles to the south.

⁶⁹ The 'Æthelstan Donation' and the *Record of Moving* claimed that Æthelstan's gifts to Exeter minster included 26 *cottlifa* ('households') or *terrae* ('lands'), which may indicate an endowment of 26 hides: see notes 22-3 above. Of the 'regained' lands listed by the *Inventory*, together with the holdings at Ide and *Munecatun*, those that were explicitly claimed (whether in the late eleventh or the late thirteenth century) as grants from Æthelstan had a total assessment of 20 hides [*viz.* Ide (2 hides); Culmstock (5 hides); Branscombe (5 hides); Topsham (1 hide: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,44); Stoke Canon (1 hide); Sidbury (5 hides); *Munecatun* (1 *mansa*, i.e. 1 hide: S 387)], while the remainder (which obviously may also include lands received from Æthelstan) had a total assessment of at least 13 hides [*viz.* Salcombe (3 hides); St Marychurch (2 virgates, i.e. ½ hide); Staverton (2½ hides); Sparkwell (½ hide: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,162); Marshall (hidage unknown; later assessed at ½ ploughland and 1 ferling: see note 46 above); *Siddefullan hwiisc* (hidage uncertain; possibly c.300-360 acres, although the use of *hwiisc* may indicate an assessment of 1 hide: see Allan *et al.*, 1984, p.407; Smith, 1956, i, p.248); *Brihtrices stane* (1 hide); Newton (3 hides); Norton (hidage unknown); *Clist* (hidage unknown; S 669 relates to 1 *mansa*, i.e. 1 hide)]. All hidages are taken from the corresponding entries in Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB chapter 2, unless stated otherwise.

authority over some or all of its various holdings. Before we examine the relevant evidence that can be obtained from later medieval sources, however, it is useful to turn our attention to the other six holdings within Exeter's hinterland that formed part of the episcopal fief in 1066.

Five of these holdings need only be mentioned briefly here, and they will be discussed in more detail and in their local contexts at a later stage. An estate at Ashburton, in eastern Dartmoor, was certainly in episcopal hands by 1008x1012, when it was mentioned in bishop Ælfwold's will, and although most of the corresponding Domesday holding lies outside the present survey area the estate appears to have included Bickington from at least the mid-eleventh century onwards.⁷⁰ With regard to the Domesday holding of *Tantone*, which probably comprised the whole of Bishopsteignton parish together with those of Chudleigh and West Teignmouth, the point at which the bishops of Devon acquired the estate is unclear but there is some evidence to suggest that it was already ecclesiastical property in the early tenth century.⁷¹ Three smaller holdings noted as parts of the episcopal fief in 1066 lay at *Berie* (probably Bury Barton in Lapford parish), *Taletone* (which comprised most of Talaton parish) and *Chenistetone* (Chudleigh Knighton in Hennock parish), although nothing is known about their earlier history.⁷²

The sixth of these episcopal holdings within Exeter's hinterland was that of Crediton. The Tax Return for Crediton Hundred records a total assessment of twenty hides, which comprised the fifteen hides of the Crediton holding itself together with the three hides held by Dunn (but contested by bishop Osbern) in Newton St Cyres and two hides held by Buckfast church in Down St Mary parish.⁷³ It seems reasonable to assume that, with the exception of the latter two holdings, the Domesday holding of Crediton was coterminous with the hundred of which it was the *caput* in 1086. However, this simply postpones the problem of determining its actual

⁷⁰ S 1492; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,19; Insley, 1998, p.189; see also S 1547; Hooke, 1994, pp.217-24; note also pp.93-4 below. Bickington and its probable relationship to Ashburton are discussed briefly in section 3.3 below.

⁷¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,4 (although note that *Nethir Rixstinole* is probably Lower Rixdale in Bishopsteignton rather than Lower Rixtail in Dawlish: see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.488, 494); see also section 3.3 below.

⁷² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,3; 2,14; 2,20. For *Berie*, see p.109 below; the holdings at Chudleigh Knighton and Talaton are discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.4 respectively.

⁷³ Reichel, 1923, pp.150-1; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2; 6,4; 52,34.

composition and extent, and we need to have a clearer picture of this Domesday holding before we can attempt to reconstruct the original parish of Crediton minster.

The later medieval hundred of Crediton comprised the parishes of Colebrook, Crediton, Kennerleigh, Morchard Bishop, Newton St Cyres and Sandford (but not that of Down St Mary), all of which were then held either by the bishop or by the canons of Exeter or Crediton except for part of Newton St Cyres. It is usually assumed that because no Domesday holdings are recorded within Colebrook, Kennerleigh and Sandford parishes the extent of the pre-Conquest episcopal manor of Crediton was essentially that of the later medieval hundred except for two secular Domesday holdings within Morchard Bishop parish (but in Tawton Hundred in 1086) and perhaps Dunn's holding in Newton St Cyres.⁷⁴ While this assumption may be largely correct, the early evidence relating to Crediton minster's landed endowment is ambiguous and raises questions that need to be addressed in rather more detail.

* * *

The extant version of the Crediton 'foundation charter' describes the endowment of the intended minster as being 'in the place where it is called *Cridie*' (*in loco ubi dicitur Cridie*), which clearly refers to a land-unit associated with the river Creedy; but in recording the extent of the grant, the eleventh-century scribe appears originally to have written fifty hides (*cassati*) before (then or later) erasing this number and substituting twenty.⁷⁵ The difference between the two Roman numerals renders a scribal error improbable here and the correspondence of the second figure to the hidage of Crediton Hundred in 1086 may be deliberate, but we cannot be confident that the erased figure represented the hidage of the original grant and not a figure intended to support some contemporary claim during Leofric's episcopacy. Indeed, a different and potentially earlier figure is suggested by two later medieval records of Sherborne's former estates, apparently

⁷⁴ e.g. Reichel, 1923, pp.151-4; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2 notes; Thorn, 1991, p.34 n2. The difficulties presented by the tenorial and hundredal affiliations of the Domesday holdings in Morchard Bishop and Down St Mary parishes are discussed below.

⁷⁵ S 255 (for references, see note 2 above); see also chapter 4.3 below.

derived from a list compiled shortly before the see of Sherborne was divided, which state that the Crediton grant comprised either thirty-five or thirty-six hides.⁷⁶ However, the reliability of this source is also uncertain, because the various corrupt place-name spellings in both versions of the Sherborne list (on whose content and transmission much work remains to be done) suggest that the hidages may also contain errors. In the absence of corroborative evidence the matter should be left open for the present, although it is notable that all of the putative hidages discussed above imply that there had been a reduction, perhaps a substantial one, either in Crediton's landed endowment or in its hidage assessment between the mid-eighth and late eleventh centuries.⁷⁷

Slightly more can be gleaned from the documents relating to Crediton during the period after the minster became an episcopal seat in the early tenth century. One of the earliest Crediton charters to survive as an original records a grant by Æthelred II of two hides (*cassati*) at Sandford to bishop Ælfwold of Crediton in 997, the bounds of which correspond to the south-eastern part of Sandford parish.⁷⁸ Another original document to survive is Ælfwold's will of 1008x1012, which included a bequest of 'the land at Sandford' to Crediton minster as his soul-scot with the exception of one hide (*hīwisc*) that he granted to his brother-in-law Godric.⁷⁹ These two documents provide us with several useful pieces of information. Firstly, Æthelred's grant implies that part of Sandford had been in royal rather than ecclesiastical hands in the late tenth century, which suggests either that these two hides had not lain within the *Cridie* land-unit that constituted Crediton minster's initial endowment or that the minster had lost part of that endowment since its foundation. Secondly, while Æthelred's grant to the bishop might be interpreted as implicitly including the minster community, Ælfwold's bequests of land at Sandford - which need not

⁷⁶ O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xlvii-xlviii, 81.

⁷⁷ Although Crediton's Domesday assessment of 15 hides seems low in proportion to its 185 ploughlands (which locally might imply about 30 hides, but *cf.* chapter 2.3 note 72 above) and may represent an instance of beneficial hidation, this possibility should be considered in relation to the evidence that the overall hidage assessment recorded for Devon and Cornwall in 1086 had not changed since at least the early tenth century: see p.49 above.

⁷⁸ S 890 (to which the bounds of a wood were added during Leofric's episcopacy, on which see note 84 below); Chaplais, 1966, p.21 no.20; Hooke, 1994, pp.181-4; Insley, 1998, pp.189-90, 194 (*contra* Keynes, 1980, p.121 n123).

⁷⁹ S 1492 (*he geann þæs landes æt sandforda in to þam mynstre in to cryðian tunc him to saulsceatte ... 7 anes hīwscypes he geann godrice þærof*); Napier & Stevenson, 1895, pp.125-33; Whitelock, 1979, pp.580-1 no.122; Insley, 1998, pp.178 n28, 189.

correspond to the land granted in the charter - show that a contemporary distinction was made between the lands of the bishop and minster of Crediton (as was also the case at Exeter during Leofric's episcopacy).⁸⁰ Thirdly, the fact that Ælfwold's bequest to Godric is specified as one hide suggests that his more general bequest of 'the land at Sandford' to Crediton minster amounted to more than one hide, and this in turn implies that by the beginning of the eleventh century the bishop held more land in Sandford than was included in the 997 grant of two hides.

With these points in mind, let us consider a charter written in an apparently early eleventh-century hand, albeit one that imitates an earlier script.⁸¹ It purports to record a grant by Æthelstan to bishop Eadwulf and the *familia* at Crediton in 930, and comprised three hides (*cassatae*) at Sandford that 'were under episcopal authority but had been forfeited to me [Æthelstan] through the misdeeds of the former tenant'.⁸² It is one of those charters whose veracity is hard to determine; it contains spurious interpolations but was clearly based on a genuine charter of Æthelstan, although (as with a forged claim of immunities of perhaps slightly earlier date) this may have been an exemplar acquired from Sherborne rather than one associated with Crediton itself.⁸³ Yet the claimed context for the grant seems an unnecessarily convoluted way in which to establish Crediton's title to a disputed property, and it may be that the main purpose of the extant document was to assert privileges - notably a supposed guarantee against subsequent forfeiture, together with a dubious exemption from the *trimoda necessitas* - for a land-unit that was already in the minster's possession. Furthermore, the charter bounds closely correspond to those parts of Sandford parish that were not included by the 997 grant, although neither charter appears to

⁸⁰ Similar conclusions are reached by Finberg, 1968, p.64; Yorke, 1995, p.225.

⁸¹ For the suggested dating of the hand, see Chaplais, 1966, pp.10-11 no.9 (*contra* Napier & Stevenson, 1895, p.65).

⁸² S 405 (*id est trium cassatarum · in loco quem solicole æt sandforda uocitant · que sub episcopali ditione fuit · sed tamen mihi census [recte census] iniquorum actuum prius reddebatur*); Napier & Stevenson, 1895, pp.5-9. The emendation of *census* is questioned by Finberg, 1968, pp.62-3 (see following note), who translates this phrase as '...but payment for wrongdoings was formerly paid to me', which he interprets as Æthelstan granting 'the profits of justice' to the *familia*.

⁸³ See Chaplais, 1966, pp.10-11 no.9; Keynes, 1980, p.43 n74; *idem*, 1988, p.186 & n4; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xxxi, 16, 29-31; see also S 421; Chaplais, 1966, pp.11-12 no.10. A different interpretation of S 890, S 1492 and S 405 from that presented here was proposed by Finberg, 1968, pp.59-70; most of the differences stem from his contention that, apart from its immunity clause, S 405 'is substantially a true copy of a perfectly genuine diploma' (*ibid.*, p.85), with the result that he takes S 405 rather than S 890 as the starting-point for his discussion of these documents.

include an area around Swannaton in the north of the parish.⁸⁴ In the light of the evidence discussed above, therefore, it seems distinctly possible that the bounds of the 'Æthelstan charter' represent 'the land at Sandford' held by bishop Ælfwold in the early eleventh century, whose bequest to the minster may also provide a context for the forging or redrafting of the charter itself.⁸⁵ However, while it is likely that at least five hides at Sandford were in the hands of the bishop or minster of Crediton by the time of Ælfwold's death, it must be emphasised that this need not imply that any part of Sandford had formed part of the original *Cridie* land-unit, although the case for this might be strengthened if the claim that the bishop already held land in Sandford prior to its forfeiture in the early tenth century should prove to have a genuine basis.

Bequests to the bishop's in-laws and forfeiture to the king were not the only means by which lands might become temporarily or permanently alienated. On the back of the parchment that preserves the 'forged' Sandford charter there is a later copy of a transaction in c.1018 whereby bishop Eadnoth mortgaged 'a yardland by the Creedy' (identifiable as Creedy Barton, in the north-west of Newton St Cyres parish) to one Beorhtnoth in exchange for thirty marks of gold, probably in order to pay the Danegeld.⁸⁶ Although the minster communities of both Exeter and Crediton witnessed the transaction, there is no other indication that Eadnoth required their assent and the wording implies that the land concerned was then an episcopal possession.⁸⁷ We do not know if Eadnoth or his successors later redeemed Creedy Barton, but the fact that the

⁸⁴ The omission of Swannaton suggests that the total assessment of Sandford (parish) was more than the 5 hides recorded by S 405 and S 890. For the bounds of S 405 (which may also exclude Prowse in the north-east of Sandford parish, where the boundary solution is uncertain), see Hooke, 1994, pp.117-22. Swannaton (from OE *swāna tūn* 'estate, or farmstead, of the swineherds': Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.413; Smith, 1956, ii, p.171) may correspond to the wood or wood-pasture whose bounds were added to the dorse of S 890, probably during Leofric's episcopacy: see Chaplais, 1966, p.21; Finberg, 1968, pp.67-8, 69-70; Hooke, 1994, pp.183-4. It is notable that in the early twelfth century, land at *Asrigga* and *Willelande* [identifiable as Ashridge and Welland in Sandford parish, lying just to the north of Swannaton] was described as *terra custodum porcorum episcopi*: see Barlow, 1996a, pp.40-1 no.42 (but his identification of *Stokelege* is incorrect; it is in fact 'Stockleigh', now Priorton, in Sandford parish: see below, notes 117-18).

⁸⁵ If so, then it is possible that Swannaton and/or Prowse represent the *hīwisc* in Sandford that Ælfwold bequeathed to Godric, and that this sub-holding was omitted from the (in this instance, presumably early eleventh- rather than early tenth-century) bounds of S 405. On the other hand, it is possible that Godric's *hīwisc* lay within the bounds of S 405, and that the charter could have been forged or copied in order to support the minster's right of reversion.

⁸⁶ S 1387; *ASC* E *s.a.* 1018; Davidson, 1878, pp.251-4; Napier & Stevenson, 1895, pp.76-80 (who suggest, p.77 n1, that this 'yardland' corresponds to a virgate); Reichel, 1923, pp.173-4; Chaplais, 1966, p.11; Hooke, 1994, pp.193-5.

⁸⁷ For the subscriptions of the minster communities, see p.74 & note 39 above. If we are to read anything into the subscriptions, then it is notable that the community of Exeter witnesses ahead of that of Crediton.

extant copy of the agreement was written during Leofric's episcopacy points to a continued interest in the property. Furthermore, the absence of a Domesday entry for Creedy Barton suggests that its details were included with those of a holding with which it was tenurially or administratively associated, and the only candidates within Crediton Hundred - the holdings at Crediton and Newton - were held or claimed as part of the 'episcopal fief' in 1086.⁸⁸ An argument *ex silentio* cannot be allowed to carry much weight, however, and it may be equally significant that Creedy Barton lies in Newton St Cyres parish, which suggests that its closest associations were with the holdings at Newton and Norton rather than Crediton at the time when this parochial boundary was established. All that we can really say on the basis of the present evidence, therefore, is that although Creedy Barton was an episcopal possession in the early eleventh century we cannot assume that it had formed part of Crediton minster's endowment.

A different problem is that presented by a charter that survives as an original and records a grant in 974 by king Edgar to his thegn Ælfhere of three hides at *Nymed*, the bounds of which encompass most if not all of Down St Mary parish.⁸⁹ An undated endorsement in a mid-eleventh-century hand states that 'this is the charter of the land called *Copulastan* that the venerable priest Brihtric ... gave to St Mary's minster at Crediton for the sustenance of the canons'.⁹⁰ The implied connection between the two grants is supported by the place-name *Copulastan* (now Copplesstone), which derives from the *copelan stān* that was the first boundary-point of the *Nymed*

⁸⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2.2; see also pp.77-8 above. Domesday implies that bishop Osbern regarded Exeter minster's disputed holding of Newton as an administrative appurtenance of the Crediton holding, while the context of the dispute suggests that Exeter minster's holding at Norton - which lay adjacent to Creedy Barton - is more likely to have been included in the details for Crediton than in those for Newton. I have been unable to find any certain reference to the tenure of Creedy Barton (also known as Lower Creedy, a place-name that also occurs with reference to a separate land-unit in Upton Hellions parish) in later medieval records, but cf. Reichel *et al*, 1939, pp.124-5 no.979.

⁸⁹ S 795; Chaplais, 1966, pp.14-15 no.15; Insley, 1998, pp.185-7, 190. The bounds correspond closely to Down St Mary parish but do not appear to include the eastern part of Zeal Monachorum parish: see Hooke, 1994, pp.172-5 (*contra* Hoskins [*apud* Finberg], 1960, pp.26-9). However, Hooke's suggestion that the bounds omit the north-western part of Down St Mary parish is open to question and relies mainly on her interpretation of references to *riscbroc* and *sczpbroc* in S 1546b MS 1, although this probably post-dates S 795 by about forty years: see note 99 below. It is worth noting, therefore, that Buckfast abbey, Boia and Alward held 2 hides and 2½ virgates in Down St Mary in 1066, of which Boia's 1½ virgates paid 10s; as Chaffcombe also paid 10s according to the TO, it may be that Chaffcombe represents the 'missing' 1½ virgates required if Down St Mary represents the 3 hides of S 795: see notes 93-4 below.

⁹⁰ S 795 (endorsement): *Hæc est carta terræ quæ dicitur Copulastan · quam dedit venerabilis presbyter Brihtricus ... ad monasterium sanctæ Mariæ quod est in Crydiatun · ad victum canonicorum...* For the dating, see Chaplais, 1966, p.15 (but cf. Rose-Troup, 1942, p.254, for a suggestion that Brihtric's grant was actually made in the late tenth century).

charter and refers to a granite pillar with late Anglo-Saxon decoration that still stands at the point where the parishes of Down St Mary, Colebrook and Crediton used to meet.⁹¹ Keynes has argued that the original charter functioned as the title-deed of the *Nymed* land-unit, in which case it is possible that Brihtric's grant to the minster comprised - or was later claimed to have comprised, if the endorsement was not contemporary with his grant - all of the three hides previously granted to Ælfhere (how Brihtric obtained the land is unknown).⁹² If so, then the minster subsequently lost control of most of the land, because very little of it was in Crediton's hands at the time of the Conquest. Of the four Domesday holdings that can be located in Down St Mary parish only Chaffcombe, a small sub-manor of the main Crediton holding, was held by the canons in 1086, and even this had been held by a thegn - perhaps a tenant - in 1066.⁹³ Indeed, as both Chaffcombe and the *copelan stān* lie in the east of the parish, there is a *prima facie* reason to suggest that Brihtric's grant could in fact refer solely to this small part of the *Nymed* land-unit.

That having been said, it should be noted that although two of the three remaining Domesday holdings in Down St Mary parish - those held by Boia and Alward in 1066 - lay in Tawton Hundred in 1086, the two hides held by Buckfast abbey then lay in Crediton Hundred and only became part of Tawton Hundred in the later medieval period.⁹⁴ Buckfast abbey was apparently founded (or perhaps refounded) by ealdorman Æthelweard and granted its foundation charter by Cnut in 1018, which provides an approximate *terminus post quem* for the abbey's acquisition of its Down St Mary holding and perhaps for the fragmentation of the *Nymed* land-unit.⁹⁵ The

⁹¹ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.403; Smith, 1956, i, pp.106-7 *s.n.* *copel; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.276; Hooke, 1994, p.174 (no.1) & plate VII. The place-name *Nymed* is discussed in detail in chapter 4.3 below.

⁹² Keynes, 1980, pp.33-4 & n58. That Brihtric's grant comprised the whole of the *Nymed* land-unit was also the conclusion reached by Finberg, 1968, p.78, although his subsequent interpretation of the history of the land-unit was based almost entirely upon proposed solutions for the S 795 and S 1546b MS1 boundary clauses that have since been rendered untenable by Hooke; see note 89 above, and note 100 below.

⁹³ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,2 Exon Notes, citing an entry in the TO: 'The bishop of Exeter has a manor called Crediton; in it his canons hold a manor called Chaffcombe, which a thegn held jointly TRE; value 10s a year.' If the thegn was a tenant of Crediton minster this might explain why the holding was mentioned in the TO, which usually records instances of illegal or disputed tenure: see *ibid.*, DB 1,15 (note on 'A thane held it freely before 1066') & 'The *Terrae Occupatae* for Devon' (in the 'Exon Notes' introduction); *cf.* Finberg, 1968, pp.79-80.

⁹⁴ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,72; 6,4; 24,28; but *cf.* note 143 below. For further discussion of Down St Mary, expanding on the suggestions made here, see pp.102-5 below.

⁹⁵ See Keynes, 1994, pp.68-9; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB chapter 6 notes.

hundredal affiliation to Crediton seems more likely to be a relic of earlier arrangements than a recent innovation - it is evident that Buckfast abbey's adjacent Domesday holding in Zeal Monachorum parish was not treated as part of Crediton Hundred in 1086, for example - and this suggests that a large part of the *Nymed* land-unit was administratively associated with Crediton in or before the early eleventh century.⁹⁶ This putative association may have been connected with Brihtric's grant to Crediton minster, however, and it could provide support for the suggestion that his grant comprised the whole of the *Nymed* land-unit.

As with so much of the pre-Conquest evidence relating to the lands of the bishop and minster of Crediton, there are more ambiguities and questions here than there are answers. Some of these will be considered again at a later stage, but in the meantime it is possible to make a few general observations on the basis of the charters for Sandford, Creedy Barton and *Nymed* discussed above. On the one hand, it appears that both the bishop and minster of Crediton were acquiring new lands in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Even if Brihtric's grant of *Copulastan* to the minster refers only to Chaffcombe, Edgar's grant to Ælfhere makes it clear that this land was in royal hands in the late tenth century as was also the case with Æthelred's grant of land at Sandford to bishop Ælfwold, while neither Brihtric's nor Æthelred's grant gives any indication that it represented a restoration of lands previously lost. On the other hand, if Brihtric's grant included the two hides in Down St Mary that later passed to Buckfast abbey, then it appears that the bishop and minster of Crediton were alienating or losing lands to other ecclesiastical institutions as well as to secular individuals such as Godric (at Sandford) and Beorhtnoth (at Creedy Barton) in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Although some of these alienations may have been against Crediton's wishes or prompted by necessity, such as the need to raise money for the Danegeld, it would be wrong to assume that other alienations could not be a matter of deliberate

⁹⁶ Nevertheless, Buckfast's Domesday holding of *Limet* [recte 'Nymet'] in Zeal Monachorum, which was later claimed to have been a grant from Cnut, lay in Tawton Hundred (although it may have been treated as part of Buckfast's main holding in Diptford Hundred by the Tax Returns), and this presumably influenced the eventual transfer of the Down St Mary holding to Tawton Hundred: see *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.75; Reichel, 1923, p.153; Erskine, 1969, pp.74n2, 78; Glasscock, 1975, p.62; Youngs, 1979, pp.83-4, 583; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 6,3; Hooke, 1994, p.187.

policy. Indeed, the picture that emerges of lands being both gained and lost is broadly compatible with the pattern of land transfers detectable among other contemporary secular and ecclesiastical landowners, for whom the acquisition or dispersal of lands through sale, lease, gift, bequest or exchange tended to involve the more peripheral parts of their estates as part of an overall strategy to extend, consolidate or at least conserve a compact geographical core.⁹⁷ To this extent the handful of surviving Crediton charters emphasise the important, if rather obvious, point that the Domesday entry for the Crediton holding provides us not with a record of a monolithic estate but with a snapshot of a more dynamic core estate and its various sub-holdings at a particular moment. However, further discussion is best postponed until we have considered what is perhaps the latest of the pre-Conquest documents concerning Crediton and its lands, albeit one that in some ways takes us back to our starting-point.

* * *

It was noted above that the Crediton ‘foundation charter’ by which Æthelheard granted land at *Cridie* to bishop Forthhere survives only as a post-Conquest copy that contains interpolated material and an anachronistic boundary clause.⁹⁸ This copy was probably written in c.1069, towards the end of Leofric’s episcopacy; but the boundary clause is preserved separately in an earlier document titled ‘These are the boundaries of Creedy land’ (*þis sint þa landgemæro cridian landes*) that probably pre-dates the time of Leofric’s predecessor Lyfing.⁹⁹ Although some details

⁹⁷ See, for example, the discussion by Clarke, 1994, pp.45-60.

⁹⁸ S 255 (the boundary clause is now classed as S 1546b MS 2); for further references, see note 2 above.

⁹⁹ S 1546b MS 1; the hand is described in Kelly 1999 (citing Keynes) as s.xi¹ or s.xi^{med}, and Dr Charles Insley (*pers. comm.*, May 2002) informs me that Professor David Dumville dates the hand to ‘the first decade or so of the eleventh century’; cf. Finberg, 1968, p.79 & n2. The two sets of bounds are not quite the same, because (apart from minor differences in spelling) MS 2 sometimes abbreviates, and in one instance omits, clauses given in MS 1; e.g. MS 1 has ...*of swincumbe on egesan treow · þanon on riscbroc mid streame of scipbroc · on scipbroc mid streame of nymed · On nymed mid streame of doflisc · of doflisc up on stream of wipigslæde · of wipigslæde on eahta æc...* whereas MS 2 has ...*of swincumbe on egesan treow · On nymed oð doflisc up oð wipigslæde · of wipigslæde on eahta æc...*: see Napier & Stevenson, 1895, pp.2-5, 41-2, 63-4. These omitted clauses are problematic. The name *riscbroc* (‘rush brook’) has not survived, but *scipbroc* (‘sheep brook’) is preserved in the place-name Shobrooke in the southern tip of Morchard Bishop parish (see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.409), where the Ash Brook [which here separates Sandford from Down St Mary and Crediton parishes] and the Knathorn Brook [which here separates Sandford and Morchard Bishop parishes] converge to become the Knighty Brook [which separates Down St Mary and Morchard Bishop parishes], which is itself a tributary of the river Yeo

of the boundary remain uncertain, it clearly encompassed an area that reached the river Exe at Brampford Speke, the river Teign near Drewsteignton and the river Dalch on the north-western boundary of Morchard Bishop parish. The most recent detailed work on this boundary clause is that by Hooke, whose proposed solution incorporates the parishes of Crediton, Sandford, Kennerleigh, Newton St Cyres, Upton Pyne, Brampford Speke, Hittersleigh, Drewsteignton, Colebrook and Morchard Bishop, together with Chaffcombe in Down St Mary.¹⁰⁰

It is apparent that 'the boundaries of Creedy land' define a large territorial unit and that they constitute an independent text that needs to be considered separately from the modified 'foundation charter' to which it was later appended.¹⁰¹ Admittedly, some researchers have assumed that the 'Creedy land' bounds preserve a putative 'original boundary clause' from Æthelheard's charter for *Cridie*, albeit in a modernised and perhaps enhanced version, but this assumption is untenable and flies in the face of what is known about the steady evolution of such boundary clauses from the rudimentary Latin statements of location evidenced in the late seventh and early eighth centuries through to the increasingly detailed vernacular perambulations of the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁰² It is also worth noting that the Domesday holdings that can be located within the 'Creedy land' bounds had a total assessment of slightly under twenty-six hides, which does not equate to any of the possible hidages discussed earlier in connection with the

[formerly the river Nymet, and the western boundary of Down St Mary parish]. In the bounds of S 795 (the *Nymed* charter: see note 87 above), *riscbroc* is certainly a tributary of the Yeo while *scipbroc* could - but need not - be a tributary of *riscbroc*. One solution is that *riscbroc* and *scipbroc* refer respectively to the Knighty Brook and the Ash Brook, in which case S 795 probably corresponds to the whole of Down St Mary parish; but it is also possible that *riscbroc* was a minor tributary of the Yeo in the north of Down St Mary parish and that *scipbroc* refers to both the Knighty Brook and the Ash Brook (see Hooke, 1994, p.175 nos.8-10). In either case, there is no conflict with the bounds of S 405 (the 'forged' Sandford charter: see pp.85-6 above), where *scipbroc* probably refers to the Ash Brook and/or the Knathorn Brook: Hooke, 1994, p.118 nos.4-5; cf. Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, p.8. Yet the bounds of S1546b MS 1 imply that *riscbroc* was a tributary of *scipbroc* and that *scipbroc* was a tributary of the Yeo, which cannot easily be reconciled with the evidence of S 795. Hooke accepts the S 1546b MS 1 text as it stands and equates *scipbroc* with the Knighty Brook and its tributaries, the Ash Brook and the Knathorn Brook, in all three charters, in which case the *riscbroc* of S 795 cannot be the same as the *riscbroc* of S 1546b MS 1; her preferred identification of the latter (Hooke, 1994, p.95 no.63; cf. Finberg, 1968, p.78 n5, and note 137 below) is a stream to the west of Chaffcombe in Down St Mary parish. This solution is by no means impossible; but it is also possible that the *riscbroc* and *scipbroc* were transposed by the scribe of S 1546b MS 1 and that the scribe of MS 2, realising that his exemplar was nonsensical, simply omitted both clauses from his version (cf. Finberg, 1968, p.82 n3).

¹⁰⁰ Hooke, 1994, pp.86-97 (where earlier interpretations are also discussed), but cf. preceding note.

¹⁰¹ A point emphasised by Finberg, 1968, p.70.

¹⁰² Chaplais, 1966, p.10; Finberg, 1968, pp.76-7; Edwards, 1988, pp.61-2, 256-7; *contra* e.g. Napier & Stevenson, 1895, p.41; Reichel, 1923, pp.146-9; Finberg, 1953, pp.21-32; Orme, 1989, pp.53-4; Thorn, 1991, p.34 n2.

original *Cridie* grant.¹⁰³ Nor can these bounds be directly associated with the Domesday hundred, because although Crediton Hundred forms the core of the territory defined by the boundary it omits Buckfast abbey's holding in Down St Mary but includes lands that apparently lay in Tawton Hundred and lands to the south and east that lay in Wonford Hundred in 1086. Yet the original purpose of the 'Creedy land' bounds must have been to record a territory within which some type of jurisdictional, administrative or tenurial rights were held (or claimed) either by the bishop or by the minster of Crediton. The extant text need not represent the first record of that territory - although the nature of the bounds precludes a date of composition much before the mid-ninth century - but it does suggest that the implied rights were perceived as both pertinent and self-evident in the first half of the eleventh century.

It is useful to say a little more about what the function of this document might have been, or at least about what it probably was not. It seems highly unlikely to have been tenurial; for example, we have seen that parts of Sandford were apparently in royal hands in the late tenth century and that much of Newton St Cyres was claimed to have been held by Exeter minster since before Edward the Confessor's reign, while two hides at *Brentefordland* (essentially coterminous with Upton Pyne parish) were sold by king Edmund to ealdorman Æthelstan of East Anglia in 944 and may have passed through the hands of Glastonbury abbey before fragmenting into the three separate holdings recorded in Domesday.¹⁰⁴ If 'Creedy land' does not represent an area over which the bishop or minster of Crediton asserted exclusive land-holding rights, then a jurisdictional or administrative purpose becomes more likely. A hypothesis advanced, albeit tentatively, by Finberg was that the 'Creedy land' document was the sole survivor of surveys drawn up in order to delineate the bishop's 'ship-soke' - a ship-soke being a group of three hundreds that provided a warship for national naval defence during the late tenth and early

¹⁰³ The solution of S 1546b proposed by Hooke encompasses an area assessed at 25¾ hides in 1086: Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,68; 2,2; 3,67; 15,59; 16,93; 16,107; 16,114-15; 16,123; 16,129; 24,2; 24,29; 43,1; 43,3; 52,15; 52,34.

¹⁰⁴ For *Brentefordland*, see: S 498; Rose-Troup, 1938, pp.254-5, 271-2; Finberg, 1968, p.78; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 16,123; 16,129; 24,2; Orme, 1989, p.55; Hooke, 1994, pp.147-51; Abrams, 1996, pp.72-3; see also below, pp.118-20 and (for discussion of place-name) chapter 4.3.

eleventh centuries - and in the evidence that he marshalled in support of this hypothesis he noted the bequest of a ship (*scegð*) of sixty oars to the king in bishop Ælfwold's will of 1008x1012.¹⁰⁵ He also speculated as to whether the 'Ashburn land' (*æscburman land*) mentioned in the bishop's will might represent one of the other 'blocks of territory which made up the episcopal ship-soke', even though the survey for it had not survived.

As Finberg hinted, the implication of his argument is that 'Creedy land' represented the extent of Crediton Hundred at around the beginning of the eleventh century; and what may add weight to his hypothesis - and this is something that he uncharacteristically overlooked - is that a contemporary survey for 'Ashburn land' may in fact have survived. Among the documents preserved at Exeter is another undated set of bounds, again in a probably early eleventh-century hand, titled 'This is *Peadingtun's* boundary' (*þis is pædingtunes landscaro*).¹⁰⁶ The bounds appear to describe a land-unit that comprised liminal or outlying parts of three Domesday hundreds on eastern Dartmoor, and the most important Domesday holding within that land-unit was the episcopal manor of Ashburton.¹⁰⁷ The place-name Ashburton means 'the *tūn* by the Ashburn [stream]', just as Crediton means 'the *tūn* by the [river] Creedy'; and despite the problem presented by the place-name *Peadingtun*, which is not mentioned in any other source and remains something of a mystery, it is not unreasonable to describe the bounds as perhaps being those of 'Ashburn land' in all but name.¹⁰⁸ At the very least, the survival of two such contemporary documents, each of which describes a large territory that incorporated several lands that were not

¹⁰⁵ Finberg, 1968, p.80; see also S 1492; Plummer, 1892-99, ii, pp.185-6 (notes to *ASC E s.a.* 1008); Harmer, 1952, pp.266-70 (*re* S 1383), 483; E. John *apud* Campbell, 1982, pp.172-3 (& his notes on p.255); Wormald, 1999a, pp.332-3.

¹⁰⁶ S 1547; Davidson, 1876, pp.396-7, 400-4; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.462-3 n1; Hooke, 1994, pp.217-24.

¹⁰⁷ The bounds appear to encompass an area that includes the outlier of Kerswell Hundred at Widecombe-in-the-Moor and the south-western part of Teignton Hundred (within which Ashburton lies), perhaps together with the adjacent outlier of Wonford Hundred at Sigford and Bagtor in Ilsington parish. The area defined lies outside and just to the south-west of the present survey area, but see the 'Tax Return hundreds' inset on Fig. 2.5 above; for the relevant Domesday holdings, see Thorn & Thorn, DB 1,48; 2,19; 3,8 note (*re* Scobitor); 20,10; 30,2; 34,46; 35,23; 48,7; 48,10. If the S 1547 bounds also included Woodland parish, then this may represent the unidentified half-hide of lordship held by Godiva in Teignton Hundred in 1086 (on which see *ibid.*, DB 52,52-3 note; p.152 note 272 below).

¹⁰⁸ The main text of S 1547 gives the place-name as *pæding tun* while the endorsement spells it *pæding tun*, but even if allowance is made for scribal errors, such as writing 'p' for the OE characters *wynn* ('w') or *thorn* ('th'), no similar name has yet been identified either in later records or as a surviving place-name within the relevant area, although the attempt by Fox (cited by Hooke, 1994, p.222) to associate it with the place-name Paignton (probably OE *Pæga-ingtūn*: see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.517) and to identify it as (originally) an outlier of Paignton may offer a way forward.

in episcopal possession but within which the largest Domesday holding formed part of the episcopal fief, seems to be more than just coincidence and to demand an explanation in terms of contemporary jurisdictional or administrative patterns of landscape organisation.

However, despite the tempting plausibility of Finberg's suggestion that the 'Creedy land' bounds originated as a record of part of the episcopal ship-soke and represent the extent of Crediton Hundred in the early eleventh century, other interpretations are also possible. More recently, for example, Hooke has claimed that the 'Creedy land' bounds represent Crediton minster's 'original parish', although she did not provide any evidence in support of her suggestion and has since qualified her position slightly.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, we know - from other evidence that will be considered shortly - that the medieval mother church at Crediton served an area larger than its nineteenth-century parish, and it would be unwise to dismiss Hooke's suggestion out of hand.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the possibility that the 'Creedy land' bounds were those of Crediton's original parish need not be mutually exclusive to Finberg's hypothesis; after all, the research by Hase highlighted the apparent links between minsters, early *villae regales* and the later hundreds in Hampshire, and Hall's work in Dorset pointed to the existence of a similar 'minster system' there.¹¹¹ To explore this possibility further, however, requires more information than our limited surviving pre-Conquest sources for Devon can provide. What is needed is an approach - namely that outlined in the previous two chapters - that also draws upon the information preserved in later medieval sources, and that considers the available evidence within the topographical context provided by the network of ecclesiastical parishes.

¹⁰⁹ Hooke, 1998, pp.70-1; *idem*, 1999, p.98. Hooke uses the term *parochia* rather than 'original parish': cf. chapter 1.2 note 26 above.

¹¹⁰ It is also worth noting that Ashburton was the site of an important medieval mother church that may well have originated as an Anglo-Saxon minster (see e.g. Polwhele, 1793-1806, iii, p.494n; Dunstan, 1966, pp.33-4; Youngs, 1979, pp.76-7, 79; see also section 3.3 below), which means that an interpretation that saw the 'Creedy land' bounds as describing Crediton's original parish need not preclude the parallel possibility that the *Peadington* bounds describe Ashburton's original parish.

¹¹¹ See discussion (with references) in chapter 1, pp.8-9, 22-3 above.

3.2.1: Reconstructing the early medieval land-units of the Crediton area.

When Leofric transferred the episcopal seat to Exeter in 1050 it appears that he took some key personnel with him but that most of the Crediton minster community remained *in situ*.¹¹² Some indication of the size of this community comes from the 1130s, when bishop William de Warewast (1107-1137) reduced the number of prebendaries from eighteen to twelve, ostensibly because of the poverty of the church.¹¹³ His explanation for the reduction may be disingenuous, however. Obviously, given the loss of cathedral status and perhaps of revenues, it is possible that there were now more canons than the church could comfortably support; yet like several of the great collegiate minsters Crediton was rebuilt as a large Romanesque cruciform church in the mid-twelfth century, and such an ambitious building must have required considerable resources.¹¹⁴ Rather than the supposed poverty of Crediton church, therefore, it may be that the reduction in the number of prebendaries was motivated in part by the bishop's need for the prebendal lands themselves, because there is evidence to suggest that bishop William may have been over zealous in his provision of military vassals from the episcopal fief.¹¹⁵

Whatever the truth of the matter, this reorganisation of the Crediton prebends in the early twelfth century means that subsequent information about them is unlikely to provide a reliable guide to the earlier arrangements of the community and its lands.¹¹⁶ It is also probable that this was not the first episcopal reorganisation or reallocation of the canons' lands. At some point before the late 1130s bishop William's nephew, steward and namesake bought land at *Stokelege*

¹¹² See Orme, 1980, pp.98-9; Insley, 1998, pp.194-5 (who emphasises the apparent stylistic continuity in the episcopal scriptorium); see also note 34 above; Blake, 1974, p.54. The Crediton community presumably constituted the 'bishop's canons' recorded as holding Chaffcombe in 1086: see note 93 above.

¹¹³ Barlow, 1996a, pp.13-15 no.15. The community was later restored to eighteen members by the addition of six canons with stipendiary prebends in the late 1260s: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.60.

¹¹⁴ For the church building and its context, see Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.295-6; Blair, 1998, pp.278ff.

¹¹⁵ The large number of 'old' episcopal knights' fees in 1166 relative to the bishop's *servitium debitum* points to an excessive provision by bishop William: see Poole, 1955, p.12; Barlow, 1996a, pp.98-100 no.110 (note).

¹¹⁶ Indeed, even the place-names associated with the later medieval prebends may give a misleading impression of where the canons' lands were then located, because the only two prebends for which detailed medieval surveys survive - those of Cross and Priestcombe - show that both derived their revenues from tithes and tenants in both Sandford and Crediton: Orme, 1980, pp.100-1; see also Caley, 1814, pp.324-5; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.466; Reichel, 1923, pp.162, 165-7; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.405-8, 411-13; Youings, 1955, pp.66-8 no.71, 126 no.137.

(now Priorton, in Sandford parish) from the tenant Robert Bevin, who had himself acquired it as the dowry of his former wife.¹¹⁷ William the steward had already received Ashridge and Welland (also in Sandford) from his uncle and he added these to the *Stokelege* holding, which with episcopal consent he later granted to Plympton priory; that this holding formed part of one of the episcopal knights' fees is apparent from a charter issued by bishop William's successor, Robert de Warelwast (another nephew), and later records.¹¹⁸ Yet Priorton lies within the land-unit defined by the 'forged' Æthelstan charter for Sandford, which apparently corresponded to 'the land at Sandford' bequeathed to Crediton minster by bishop Ælfwold as his soul-scot, and this suggests that lands formerly held by the minster community had passed into the hands of the bishop or his secular tenants in or before the early twelfth century.¹¹⁹

However, the key point is that there was institutional continuity at Crediton minster after the bishopric moved to Exeter. Although the surviving evidence is too ambiguous for us to attempt a reconstruction of how the Domesday holding of Crediton was divided between the minster community and the bishop, a rather more profitable line of enquiry is that which draws upon the continuity of Crediton's public role as a church. It was noted above that the medieval church of Crediton served an area that was larger than its nineteenth-century parish. From the early thirteenth century onwards we begin to hear of outlying and subordinate chapels within this area, of which most were manorial chapels although some may have been established by, and for the convenience of, the local inhabitants. A few of these chapels had (or acquired) a public function as chapels-of-ease to the mother church at Crediton and those at Sandford and Kennerleigh eventually became fully independent parish churches in the post-Reformation period, albeit only

¹¹⁷ See Barlow, 1996a, pp.xxxiv, 40-1 no.42 For the identification of *Stokelege* with Priorton in Sandford parish (*contra* Barlow), see Donn, 1765; Polwhele, 1796-1806, ii, p.37; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.413.

¹¹⁸ For the subsequent history of the 'Stockleigh'/Priorton holding, see Caley, 1814, p.375; Hall, 1896, ii, p.557; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.477; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.337; Youings, 1955, p.21 no.27 (*cf. ibid.*, pp.17-18 no.21); Barlow, 1996a, pp.98-100 no.110, 107-8 no.117; *idem*, 1996b, pp.150-2 no.168.

¹¹⁹ S 421 (on which see pp.85-6 above); Hooke, 1994, pp.117-22 (at nos.15-19).

after a lengthy struggle in which Crediton sought to retain its parochial rights and revenues.¹²⁰ In other words, we have unequivocal evidence that Crediton was the mother church for a large medieval parish that comprised the later parishes of Crediton, Sandford and Kennerleigh.

It is highly unlikely that this situation was the result of Crediton church having acquired control of previously independent parishes at either Sandford or Kennerleigh. We have already seen that much of Sandford was in the hands of the bishop or Crediton minster by the early eleventh century and that parts of it may have been theirs in the early tenth century, and there is evidence to suggest that the area around Swannaton, Ashridge and Welland - omitted by the two Anglo-Saxon charters for Sandford - was part of the pre-Conquest Crediton estate.¹²¹ Similarly, although the evidence relating to Kennerleigh is sparse and late, there is nothing to suggest that it had not formed part of the Domesday manor of Crediton.¹²² It therefore seems entirely reasonable to assume that the later parishes of Crediton, Sandford and Kennerleigh had constituted part of Crediton minster's original parish since at least the late pre-Conquest period. Although we are not yet in a position to suggest more than this vague *terminus ante quem* for the formation of Crediton's original parish, it is certainly worth considering the possibility that it had once incorporated other adjacent parishes. An obvious starting point is the parish of Colebrook, which most commentators regard as having formed part of the Domesday holding of Crediton and where the boundaries of the parish and its outlier at Hook interlock with those of Crediton in a way that suggests that they had once formed part of a single land-unit.

¹²⁰ Orme, 1980, pp.119-21; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.39-42, 86, 97; Caley, 1814, p.289; Davidson, 1882, pp.251-2 no.xi, 254-5 no.xvii, 271-2; Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.274; *idem*, 1889, p.5; *idem*, 1894, p.506; Reichel, 1923, pp.169-71; Youings, 1955, pp.66-8 no.71, 96-7 no.93; Dunstan, 1963, p.242; *idem*, 1966, pp.41-2; Youngs, 1979, p.82.

¹²¹ The bounds added to S 890 during Leofric's episcopacy suggest that Swannaton was then part of the Crediton estate, while the land at Ashridge and Welland acquired by William the steward was described as having once been the land of the bishop's swineherds (*Erat enim olim, ut dicitur, terra custodum porcorum episcopi*): see notes 84 & 117 above.

¹²² Kennerleigh may be part of the episcopal knight's fee held by Richard de Hidon in c.1211, because the Hidons' holding at Paschoe in Colebrook constituted only half a fee: Hall, 1896, ii, p.557; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.337; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.41; Reichel *et al*, 1939, pp.10-11 no.780; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2 notes.

The earliest surviving references to Colebrook relate to a dispute involving the Hospitallers and the newly appointed bishop Bartholomew of Exeter in c.1161.¹²³ When Colebrook church became vacant a local knight, Alexander of Colebrook, granted it to the Hospitallers; but Bartholomew ruled that his episcopal predecessors had owned the advowson because the *villa* of Colebrook was part of Crediton manor, whose rights belonged to the episcopal church and seat of Exeter. Alexander accepted this judgement and Bartholomew granted the church to the Exeter cathedral chapter, who retained it thereafter.¹²⁴ The settlement allowed that a large annual pension of ten shillings should be paid to the Hospitallers from Colebrook church; but the fact that Bartholomew felt it necessary to write to Henry II describing the dispute and its settlement suggests that the pension was an attempt by Bartholomew to forestall any intervention by the king, who was a known supporter of the Hospitallers, rather than an implicit recognition that the Hospitallers had any legitimate rights in the church.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, Alexander had claimed to possess such rights; and it appears that because he was the episcopal tenant of Colebrook - he held two knights' fees from the bishop in 1166, and Colebrook manor constituted two fees in the thirteenth century - he consequently had regarded the advowson to be part of his holding.¹²⁶

There is much that can be gleaned from the details and context of this dispute. The fact that Alexander's two fees belonged to 'the old enfeoffment' (which means that they were created before the death of Henry I in 1135), together with Bartholomew's statement about the status of Colebrook in the time of his predecessors, increases the likelihood that Colebrook formed part of the Crediton holding in Domesday. In addition, although Bartholomew's claim to the advowson of Colebrook church was couched in tenurial rather than ecclesiastical terms it strongly suggests

¹²³ Barlow, 1996a, pp.74-8 nos.85-7; see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.291-2.

¹²⁴ See e.g. Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.341, 465; *idem*, 1892, pp.109-10; Barlow, 1996b, pp.224-5 no.248.

¹²⁵ For the suggestion that Bartholomew feared intervention by Henry II, see Barlow, 1996a, pp.75-7 no.86 (note). Poole, 1907, p.51 n1, notes (citing Caley, 1814, p.294) that the pension was still being paid in 1535; it is not mentioned in the *Taxatio* entry for Colebrook, however, presumably because the Hospitallers were one of the groups exempted from what was technically a 'crusading tax': see chapter 2.2 above, at p.33.

¹²⁶ The bishop's return for the 'Inquest of the Fiefs' in 1166 states that *Alexander de Colebroc [tenet de me] feodum ii militum ... sunt fefati de tempore regis H*: Barlow, 1996a, pp.98-100 no.110. For the thirteenth-century tenants of Colebrook, see Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.35; Hall, 1896, ii, p.557; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.337; Poole, 1907, p.69 no.803; Reichel, 1912a, pp.182-3 no.367, 265 no.526, 276-7 no.545.

that Colebrook, like Sandford and Kennerleigh, had once lain within Crediton minster's original parish. Furthermore, the transfer of Colebrook church from the ecclesiastical control of the bishop (and, by implication, that of Crediton minster) to that of the Exeter cathedral chapter provides an obvious *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of Colebrook's parish.

This need not imply that Colebrook's parish was then of relatively recent creation, however. It is apparent from the vacancy that initiated the dispute and Bartholomew's assertion of his predecessors' rights that Colebrook church was founded before the mid-twelfth century, and sufficient Norman fabric survives to suggest that it was then a church of above average importance - an impression that is reinforced by its valuation of slightly over £9 in c.1291 (if the Hospitallers' pension is included), which was notably higher than any other church in its immediate vicinity except for Crediton itself.¹²⁷ It is also notable that the two fees that comprised Colebrook manor in the thirteenth century included lands at Gunstone and Venny Tedburn in Crediton parish but did not include Paschoe and Whelmstone in Colebrook parish, which had different tenants and middle lords; and unless there had been a recent and significant reorganisation of the fees within the episcopal fief, this indicates that Colebrook's parochial jurisdiction was not based on the extent of the two fees that Alexander had held in the twelfth century.¹²⁸ When taken together, the available evidence does not suggest that Colebrook church originated as a manorial chapel. Instead, it seems more likely that it was a 'parochial chapel' - a subordinate church founded by the mother church of Crediton to provide pastoral care to an outlying part of its original parish - and probably one whose parish was established well before the early twelfth century and the local introduction of knights' fees.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ The south wall of the nave incorporates a blocked Norman arcade, which suggests the former existence of a south aisle - an unusual feature for an ordinary parish church at this date, particularly in Devon, and one that may indicate wealth or status that was above the local norm: Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.275-6; *cf. ibid.*, p.40; Morris, 1989, pp.287ff. (esp. pp.290-1). For the *Taxatio* valuations, see Fig. 2.2; Appendix I below; and note 125 above.

¹²⁸ See Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.337; Reichel, 1912a, pp.182-3 no.367; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.403-6.

¹²⁹ The term 'parochial chapel' will be used here to describe an initially subordinate public church founded by a mother church (or sometimes by the bishop) to serve the pastoral needs of outlying areas of the mother church's original parish; such churches, which elsewhere are sometimes referred to as 'sub-minsters' or 'lesser minsters', often developed to become independent parish churches: see chapter 1.2 above, at pp.8-10; see also Bassett, 1997a, p.4.

There are two final points that need to be made in connection with the Colebrook dispute, which is an unusually well documented case by Devonshire standards. Firstly, in this instance prompt action by bishop Bartholomew enabled him to prevent, or at least control, the alienation of the rights of a mother church in his possession, but the example shows how easily such alienations could occur if a mother church was not alert to these dangers. Secondly, such relatively detailed information has not always survived with regard to the other parishes that will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, which sometimes means that those discussions are necessarily complex and that the only conclusions that can be drawn are tentative ones.

* * *

The evidence considered above strongly suggests that in or before the late eleventh century Crediton minster served an original parish that included the later parishes of Crediton, Sandford, Kennerleigh and, very probably, Colebrook. Obviously, this need not represent its full extent, and for that reason it would be premature to attempt a discussion of its likely origins. In order to discover whether or not Crediton's original parish had encompassed an even larger area, we need to scrutinise each of the parishes surrounding this core territory. Although it may not be possible to reach a definite conclusion in every case, there is much that can be learned through not only the inclusion of particular parishes but also the exclusion of those whose parochial affiliations appear to lie elsewhere.

It is convenient to start with the parishes immediately to the west of Colebrook and then to continue our survey in a roughly clockwise direction around the Crediton area. Sandwiched between the parishes of Colebrook and Nymet Tracy, in the watershed zone that here separates the Creedy river system from that of the Taw, are the small parish of Clannaborough and Nymet Tracy's outlier at Appledore. The course of the 'Creedy land' bounds through this watershed zone is unclear and it is not certain that Clannaborough and Appledore lay outside the territory they defined, although the western boundary of Colebrook was also that between Crediton and

Tawton hundreds in and after 1086.¹³⁰ With regard to Clannaborough, it seems likely that its church originated as a manorial chapel and that its parish was established at a time when the two Domesday holdings within it were in the hands of the same tenant, most probably in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.¹³¹ We have no direct evidence for its previous parochial affiliation; but the fact that Appledore became an outlier of Nymet Tracy's parish rather than part of Clannaborough, despite having no known tenurial association with any of the other holdings in Nymet Tracy, strongly suggests that this parochial link between Appledore and Nymet Tracy pre-dated the establishment of Clannaborough's parish.¹³² In other words, it is highly likely that Clannaborough gained its parochial independence at the expense of a mother church whose original parish included the later parishes of both Clannaborough and Nymet Tracy. It is possible that the mother church was Nymet Tracy itself, although this shows no signs of having been a church of locally 'superior' status and it seems more likely that both Nymet Tracy and Clannaborough had lain within the original parish of a mother church associated with the royal hundredal manor of North Tawton.¹³³ In any event, what is important for present purposes is that there is no evidence to suggest that either Clannaborough or Nymet Tracy had ever been

¹³⁰ See Hooke, 1994, pp.94-5 nos.52-62 (*re* S 1546b), although on p.97 she suggests 'that the boundary did not extend beyond [Crediton] hundred to the west'; *cf. ibid.*, p.174 no.2 (*re* S 795), where if her identification of *eisandune* with *egesane treow* is correct then here at least a point on the Clannaborough/Colebrook boundary was the referent.

¹³¹ The two Domesday holdings in Clannaborough parish were held by Godman the priest (who also held land at Upton Pyne) and Wadilo in 1066, and both passed to Ralph of Pomeroy as tenant of sheriff Baldwin after the Conquest; the present church is of twelfth-century date and its location suggests that it was, or more probably had replaced, a manorial chapel for the holding associated with Godman: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,51-2 (see also DB 15,49 note; 16,129. *Godman preost* witnessed S 1474 of 1045x1046); Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.462; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.474; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.365; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.266. In the mid-thirteenth century the two holdings were again held separately (by tenants of the Courtenay family) but the patronage of the church was in the hands of Taunton priory (founded in c.1120): Caley, 1814, p.349; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.124; *idem*, 1892, p.201; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.371, 422; *idem*, 1923, p.783; Hull, 1987, p.xv & n69.

¹³² All five of the Domesday holdings in Nymet Tracy parish had different holders in 1066 and in 1086, and had different later manorial descents: see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,21; 16,49-50; 25,8; 52,9. Although the holders of Halse and Appledore in 1086 were both tenants of sheriff Baldwin, this cannot be seen as significant because Baldwin was also the tenant-in-chief for both of the holdings in Clannaborough parish.

¹³³ The lord of the largest (and eponymous) manor in Nymet Tracy parish held the advowson from its first mention in 1270, and the church's valuation at just over £4 in c.1291 is lower than most others in its vicinity: see *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.75; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.159, 461; *idem*, 1892, p.239; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.340, 371; *idem*, 1920, p.99; Reichel *et al.*, 1939, pp.384-5 no.1426; Sanders, 1960, pp.104-5. I have not yet fully researched North Tawton and its church, but for the main evidence see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.159, 181, 461-2; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, p.1368; Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.59 no.779; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,3; Bearman, 1994, pp.17-20, 158 no.4a & note; Barlow, 1996a, p.5 no.6. There are also some hints, as yet unconfirmed, that North Tawton church was in some way associated with another 'superior' church at either Winkleigh or South Tawton.

tenurially, administratively or ecclesiastically associated with either Colebrook or Crediton; and although the ambiguity of the 'Creedy land' bounds here means that we cannot determine whether or not they shared this conceptual boundary, it certainly appears that Crediton's original parish did not extend to the west of Colebrook.

To the north of Colebrook is the parish of Down St Mary, which has already been mentioned in connection with Edgar's grant of *Nymed* to Ælfhere in 974 and Brictric's subsequent grant of *Copulastan* to Crediton minster. The place-name element 'Nymet' represents a borrowing into Old English from the Primitive Cornish language, and although it will be discussed in more detail and in its local linguistic context in the next chapter a brief comment regarding its local distribution is needed here. We know from charter evidence that Nymet was the earlier name of the river Yeo, and the element occurs in numerous place-names along the Yeo valley from its source near East and West Nymph in South Tawton parish through to its confluence with the river Taw at Nymet Rowland; yet some of these places lie on minor tributaries, while the 'Creedy land' bounds show that Nymet was also the former name of the river Troney, which forms part of the Creedy river system.¹³⁴ This distribution suggests that 'Nymet' had functioned as an area-name at some point in the pre-Conquest period and points to the potential (or nebulous) existence of a former 'Nymet district' in the area presently under discussion.

With regard to Down St Mary itself, the present church was built in about the mid-twelfth century and - like that of the adjacent parish of Zeal Monachorum - was in the hands of Buckfast abbey by the time that it first occurs in surviving records.¹³⁵ There is nothing to suggest that it

¹³⁴ 'Nymet' place-names occur in the parishes of Broadnymet, Clannaborough, Down St Mary, North Tawton, Nymet Rowland, Nymet Tracy, South Tawton and Zeal Monachorum, while the S 1546b bounds show that *Nymed* was the former name of the river Troney: see Ekwall, 1928, pp.304-5; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.xiii, 348, 360-1, 365, 368, 370-1, 375-6, 449; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 3,21; 6,3; 16,45; 16,48; 16,52; 16,55; 24,28; 25,8-9; 52,9 & 'Introductory Note 2: Places named from rivers'; Hooke, 1994, pp.94 no.49 (*re* S 1546b), 175 no.8 (*re* S 795). For further discussion, see chapter 4.3 below.

¹³⁵ Down St Mary church has a carved Norman tympanum above the south door and a Norman window in the chancel; Zeal Monachorum has a Norman font, but this potentially moveable item cannot provide a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the church: see Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.40, 338, 927. For Buckfast abbey as patron of both churches, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.192; *idem*, 1892, p.207; *idem*, 1899, pp.1287, 1293. Note that the *ecclesia de*

was ever a church of 'superior' status and some of the evidence discussed below may point to an origin as a manorial chapel, although this remains uncertain. However, as we again have no direct evidence relating to Down St Mary's earlier parochial affiliations, much depends upon how we interpret the various conceptual boundaries with which its parish was associated.

It was noted earlier that the *Nymed* charter defines a land-unit whose boundaries closely correspond to those of Down St Mary parish, and that at least part of this land-unit was granted to Crediton minster at some point between 974 and the mid-eleventh century.¹³⁶ Yet most of the parish lies outside the territory defined by the early eleventh-century 'Creedy land' bounds and it is not even certain that they include Chaffcombe in the east of the parish, which the Crediton canons held in 1086.¹³⁷ It may be that these bounds pre-date Brictric's grant of *Copulastan* to Crediton or that his grant related only to Chaffcombe, but what is clear is that little if any of Down St Mary parish was then associated with Crediton for the purposes of the 'Creedy land' bounds, whatever those purposes may have been. Nevertheless, at some point between c.1018 and 1066 Buckfast abbey acquired a substantial part of the *Nymed*/Down St Mary land-unit, and this holding together with Chaffcombe was regarded as lying in Crediton Hundred in 1086.¹³⁸ This does not appear to have been a temporary arrangement for the purposes of Domesday or the Tax Returns, and it is unlikely to represent a recent arrangement made for the abbey's convenience because Buckfast's adjacent holding of 'Nymet' (now Zeal Monachorum) did not form part of Crediton Hundred in 1086.¹³⁹ However, there were two Domesday holdings within

Doune of which Philip de Doune was patron in 1284 (*idem*, 1889, p.342) was almost certainly that of East Down in north Devon, not that of Down St Mary: see e.g. Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.360, 414; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 31,1.

¹³⁶ S 795; see pp.87-9 above.

¹³⁷ S 1546b; see notes 93, 99-100 above. Note also that although Hooke's preferred identification of *rischroc* is with a stream to the west of Chaffcombe, she accepts (Hooke, 1994, p.95 no.63) the possibility that it may have been the tributary of the Ash Brook that forms the eastern boundary of Down St Mary parish.

¹³⁸ See notes 94-6 above.

¹³⁹ When the territorial archdeaconries were established in the early 1130s their boundaries seem to have adopted (and thereby fossilised) elements of the contemporary hundredal structure, and the fact that Zeal Monachorum and Down St Mary parishes lay in different archdeaconries in c.1291 suggests that they had lain in Tawton and Crediton hundreds respectively in the early twelfth century: see chapter 2.2 above, at pp.36-7; see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.455, 461-2, and Fig. 2.2 above. Our next direct evidence of Down St Mary's hundredal affiliation is from the 1330s, at which time it lay in Tawton Hundred and it remained so thereafter: Erskine, 1969, pp.74 n2, 78; see also Reichel, 1923, p.153; Glasscock, 1975, p.62; Youngs, 1979, pp.83-4, 583.

Down St Mary parish that lay in Tawton Hundred and this, together with the exclusion of most or all of the *Nymed* land-unit from the 'Creedy land' bounds and the potential link between the 'Nymet' place-names, suggests that some of Down St Mary's pre-Conquest affiliations lay, or had lain, not with Crediton but with the area to the west.¹⁴⁰

At first sight the most economical interpretation of this conundrum is that Brictric granted *Copulastan* to Crediton minster after the 'Creedy land' bounds were drawn up and that it had indeed comprised most of the *Nymed* land-unit, which presumably lay in Tawton Hundred in the late tenth century. The minster had then transferred its new holding to its own ecclesiastical hundred of Crediton, and had retained its hundredal authority (together with Chaffcombe) when the greater part of the holding passed - presumably by gift, exchange or purchase - to the newly founded Buckfast abbey. However, this interpretation assumes that the 'Creedy land' bounds represented the contemporary extent of Crediton Hundred or an ecclesiastical territory that corresponded to it, and that is an assumption for which we do not yet have independent support.

A rather more useful approach is to ask why Down St Mary parish included Chaffcombe. The obvious answer is 'because Chaffcombe was part of the *Nymed* land-unit'; yet it was a sub-manor of Crediton in 1086 and its tenorial association with the rest of the *Nymed* land-unit had been broken when Buckfast abbey acquired the main Down St Mary holding, if not before. The implication is that Chaffcombe's ecclesiastical status as part of Down St Mary's parish - or, in the less likely circumstance that its church was not yet parochially independent, as part of the original parish of Down St Mary's mother church - was established before the *Nymed* land-unit fragmented. In other words, it is highly likely that Down St Mary constituted an independent parish in or perhaps before the first half of the eleventh century, and it is correspondingly unlikely that it then formed part of an original parish dependent on Crediton minster. Furthermore, as this conclusion does not rely upon any assumptions about the nature of the

¹⁴⁰ For the two Domesday holdings in Down St Mary parish and in Tawton Hundred, see note 94 above.

'Creedy land' bounds, it provides an independent indication that, here at least, those bounds may correspond to the contemporary extent of Crediton's original parish. However, the need to avoid assumptions about the 'Creedy land' bounds undermines - but does not render untenable - the interpretation offered in the previous paragraph, and leaves us with questions that cannot be resolved on the basis of our present evidence. The most important of these is that of why the holdings of Crediton minster and Buckfast abbey in Down St Mary parish lay in Crediton Hundred in the late eleventh century whereas the two held by Boia and Alward before the Conquest lay in Tawton Hundred. A possible answer to this question is provided, albeit indirectly, by the evidence relating to the parish of Morchard Bishop.

Domesday records only two holdings that can be located within Morchard Bishop parish, these being a half-hide at *Morchet* and a virgate at *Schipebroc* (Shobrooke) in the south of the parish.¹⁴¹ Both holdings then lay in Tawton Hundred and both were held in 1066 by Beorhtric son of Ælfgar, one of the greatest landholders in late Anglo-Saxon England. Beorhtric's estates stretched throughout the south-western shires and his family seem to have had long-established interests in the region; for example, a Domesday holding at Loosebeare in the north of Zeal Monachorum parish was held by Cranborne abbey (in Dorset), which had been founded by Beorhtric's grandfather Æthelweard Mæw in c.980 and had apparently received Loosebeare from his father Ælfgar Mæw in the early eleventh century.¹⁴² Indeed, nearly half of the forty-two hides in Tawton Hundred alone were probably held by Beorhtric and his dependent men in 1066, including most of Lapford, Alward's holding in Down St Mary and perhaps that of Boia as well.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,68; 24,29. For the modern form Shobrooke, see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.409.

¹⁴² See Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 8,1; Hooke, 1994, p.185; Clarke, 1994, pp.41-2, 59, 260-2, 265; Williams, 1997, pp.41-5, 48-50, 55-9, 64-7; Bassett, 1997a, pp.11-12; *cf.* p.128 below. Cranborne became a cell of Tewkesbury abbey in 1102, and the abbey retained this holding at Loosebeare until the Dissolution: see Youings, 1955, pp.17-18 no.22.

¹⁴³ In addition to the references given in the preceding note, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,57 note; 1,63-8; 13,1; 24,21 note; 24,23-5; 24,27-9; 25,5-11; Reichel, 1897b, pp.254-5 (for the Tax Return & TO for Tawton Hundred); Clarke, 1994, pp.87, 133. The identification of Boia's holding of *Vlwardesdone* is uncertain. It may correspond to the *Doune* [Down] later held with Lapford or to the *Bradeford* [Bradaford in Down St Mary] held with Wolfin [Alward's holding in Down St Mary]; in either case, however, it apparently passed to the Honour of Gloucester, as did most of Beorhtric's holdings in Devon, and this suggests that Boia too could have been one of Beorhtric's dependents: see Reichel, 1904, pp.356-7; *idem*, 1912a, pp.70-1 no.135; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,66 note; 1,72; 24,28 note.

Of Beorhtric's two holdings in Morchard Bishop parish, after the Conquest that at Shobrooke passed from a sub-tenant of Walter of Claville to the Lamprey family, and may have been regarded as a sub-manor of the Gloucester Honour holdings in Lapford and Down St Mary until it was forfeited to the king in the late thirteenth century.¹⁴⁴ The holding at Morchard passed to queen Matilda and then into the king's hands until it was bought by the bishop of Exeter in 1165, at which time it apparently constituted a knight's fee held by Gilbert the Marshal.¹⁴⁵ By the early fourteenth century, when we first have sufficiently detailed information to be certain, it is clear that the whole of Morchard Bishop parish was a part of Crediton Hundred.¹⁴⁶

However, it is clear that the bishop of Exeter held land in Morchard Bishop before he made his purchase in 1165, because letters of papal protection granted to bishop Robert de Warewast in 1146 and 1153 explicitly include the episcopal manor of *Morchet*.¹⁴⁷ We cannot determine the extent of this manor, but unless the small hidages of Beorhtric's holdings relative to the size of the parish represent instances of beneficial hidation it must have comprised the lion's share of the land within Morchard Bishop parish.¹⁴⁸ Under these circumstances it is not unreasonable to make a suggestion *ex silentio*, in that the silence of Domesday with regard to a third holding in Morchard Bishop indicates that, as with Kennerleigh and Sandford, the details of this manor were subsumed within those for that of Crediton in 1086. The implication that it also then lay in Crediton Hundred is not entirely unsupported because, like Down St Mary, Morchard Bishop lay within the Exeter archdeaconry rather than that of Barnstaple in the later medieval period, which

¹⁴⁴ Thom & Thorn, 1985, DB 24,28 note; 24,29; Reichel, 1897b, pp.252, 254-5; *idem*, 1912a, pp.57 no.105, 137 no.275; Maxwell-Lyte, 1916, pp.407-8 no.1432; *cf. idem*, 1904, p.264 no.798. However, note that William Lamprey held one-third of a fee from the bishopric of Exeter (*sede vacante*) in c.1211: Hall, 1896, ii, p.557.

¹⁴⁵ Pipe Roll Society, 1888, p.95; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.291; Reichel, 1897c, pp.492-3 nos.490-2, 497 no.577; *idem*, 1912a, pp.74-5 no.143 & n1; Thom & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,68 note; Barlow, 1996a, pp.79 no.90, 98-100 no.110.

¹⁴⁶ Reichel, 1923, pp.152-4; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.408-10; Erskine, 1969, pp.32-4 (*cf. ibid.*, pp.74-9); Glasscock, 1975, pp.54-5 (*cf. ibid.*, pp.61-2).

¹⁴⁷ Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.249-51 no.78; Hull, 1987, p.8 no.8; Barlow, 1996a, p.xxxvi.

¹⁴⁸ *cf.* Thom, 1991, p.28 n8. Although we can identify the *Schipebroc* holding of Domesday with Shobrooke and make a reasonable estimate as to its likely extent, the lack of suitable information that might reflect the pre-1165 situation means that this has not proved possible with regard to the Domesday holding of *Morchet* (but *cf.* note 150 below); the hypothetical representation of the tenurial pattern in Fig. 2.5 is mainly for illustration purposes and carries little weight. Note that although Easton Barton lies in the west of the parish, the place-name is of uncertain derivation despite its apparently obvious modern form: see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.409; *contra* Reichel, 1897b, p.247 n8.

suggests that both parishes - or at least the churches or holdings within them that were regarded as significant for the purposes of ecclesiastical administration - were parts of Crediton Hundred in the early 1130s.¹⁴⁹ If so, then it is distinctly possible that the treatment of some of the Domesday holdings within these two parishes as parts of Tawton Hundred in 1086 originated as an administrative concession for the convenience of Beorhtric or his predecessors. Unlike Down St Mary parish, however, the parish of Morchard Bishop appears to correspond to, and lie entirely within, the north-western section of the 'Creedy land' bounds, and this is a point of difference between them to which we will return at a later stage.¹⁵⁰

Whatever the original function of the 'Creedy land' bounds, they demonstrate that all except the south-eastern part of the boundary of Morchard Bishop parish as recorded in the early nineteenth century existed as a conceptual boundary in the early eleventh century. Furthermore, that the 'missing' part of the boundary also existed at that time, and possibly a century earlier, is shown by the 'forged' Sandford charter attributed to Æthelstan, while the south-western part of the boundary is pushed back into the late tenth century by the *Nymed* charter of 974.¹⁵¹ In other words, it is beyond reasonable doubt that a land-unit corresponding to the parish of Morchard Bishop existed by the early eleventh century. Obviously, this does not preclude the existence of tenurially separate contemporary sub-divisions within that land-unit, nor need it imply that it yet had an independent parochial existence. The papal letters of 1146 and 1153 noted above show that Morchard was then regarded as an episcopal manor discrete from Crediton whereas Sandford and Kennerleigh were not, and we know that, like Colebrook, Morchard Bishop constituted an independent benefice in episcopal patronage by the beginning of the thirteenth

¹⁴⁹ See note 139 above; Caley, 1814, p.328.

¹⁵⁰ S 1546b; see Hooke, 1994, pp.95-6 nos.64-9. Although a short stretch of the bounds is not quite certain, Hooke follows the suggestion by Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,2 (notes), that Bishopsleigh in the north-east of Morchard Bishop parish is likely to have formed part of the original episcopal holding (the earliest form cited by Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.409, dates from 1249, but Richard de *Bissoplega* was recorded as a tenant of the bishop in c.1211: see Hall, 1896, ii, p.557; see also Robinson, 1995, pp.156-7 no.455). As the qualifier is likely to have developed in relation to the cluster of 'Leigh' place-names about a mile to the west and would perhaps have been less meaningful after 1165, the suggestion is a reasonable one.

¹⁵¹ S 405; S 795; see notes 81-4 & 89 above.

century, but we cannot determine when this independence had been acquired.¹⁵² Nevertheless, when taken together the evidence considered above strongly suggests that the greater part of Morchard Bishop had lain within the episcopal estate and hundred of Crediton before the Conquest, and that it had once formed part of Crediton minster's original parish.

Before we move on to consider the remainder of the parishes in the Crediton area, it is worth pausing for a moment in order to 'take stock'. The discussions with regard to the parishes of Clannaborough, Down St Mary and Morchard Bishop have often been long and complex on account both of the intractable and circumstantial nature of the surviving evidence and of the need to articulate and evaluate the methodologies that can be employed in its interpretation. Although it is rarely possible to reach a definitive judgement in each case, the contextual assessment of a cumulative series of probabilities does allow us to draw historically useful conclusions. Among the most important of these is that in the late Anglo-Saxon period Crediton minster appears to have been the mother church for an original parish that was larger than either its later medieval or its early nineteenth-century parish. Of perhaps equal significance, however, is the implication that some of the other pre-Conquest churches in the Exeter hinterland area are likely to have had original parishes whose extents may also be recoverable, albeit with difficulty and not necessarily in their entirety.

* * *

The preceding discussions have shown that when the surviving evidence is considered within the contextual framework provided by ecclesiastical parishes and their boundaries it is possible to recover valuable information about the early medieval land-units of Exeter's hinterland. As noted in the introduction to the present chapter, however, there is insufficient room within the context of a doctoral thesis to set out and examine in detail the evidence relating to every parish. With

¹⁵² The earliest surviving record of an institution to Morchard Bishop church is that by king John acting *sede vacante* in c.1207: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.492. The next record of an institution was by collation in 1258, and the church was part of the bishop's peculiar in c.1291 (when it had a valuation of £6 13s 4d): *ibid.*, pp.156, 466.

regard to the rest of the parishes in the Crediton area, therefore, I will adopt a slightly different approach. Obviously, the available evidence will be assessed in detail whenever this is deemed necessary either for a particular stage in the arguments presented here or in order to examine an aspect of the methodologies employed. If a parish clearly lay outside Crediton's original parish, however, then a brief summary may suffice for present purposes; such summaries should be regarded as provisional until the arguments in support of them can be presented in full.

This abbreviated approach is appropriate for the parishes to the north-west of those we have just discussed. Nymet Rowland almost certainly originated as a manorial chapel within Coldridge parish before the mid-twelfth century and had gained parochial independence by the mid-fourteenth century, while Coldridge church may have been a parochial chapel associated with a mother church further west, perhaps that at North Tawton.¹⁵³ To the east of Nymet Rowland, Bury Barton in the south of Lapford parish may represent the bishop of Exeter's small Domesday holding of *Berie*, which apparently lay either in Crediton or in Tawton hundred, although this cannot be confirmed from medieval sources.¹⁵⁴ The evidence with regard to Lapford itself again points to a church of manorial origin. Its parochial outlier at Irishcombe (about seven miles to the north-east of Lapford) was already a manorial outlier in 1086 and the convoluted parochial topography of the area between them suggests that they were associated with the fragmentation of an original parish based on Witheridge; but Lapford's more immediate parochial connection may have been with Chawleigh and further research is needed here.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, what is important for present purposes is that, with the possible exception of the bishop's holding at *Berie*, there is no good reason to suppose that Crediton's original parish had extended to the west or to the north of Morchard Bishop.

¹⁵³ See Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.60, 125, 461-2; *idem*, 1899, p.1410; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.370, 422; *idem*, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31 (at p.27); *idem*, 1921, pp.206-7 no.241; *idem*, 1923, p.783; Reichel, 1912b, p.328; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,64 notes; 3,22; 16,45-6; 16,123 note; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.274, 606-7; see also note 133 above.

¹⁵⁴ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,3; Reichel, 1897b, p.259; *idem*, 1923, p.159.

¹⁵⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,66; DRO Lapford tithe map (c.1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/253]; Kain & Oliver, 2001, maps NP 163:9/123-7, 164:9/174, 164:9/176; see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, pp.229, 278, 300; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.340, 370, 423; Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.354 no.1374; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.522-3.

To the east of Morchard Bishop and to the south of the watershed between the rivers Dalch and Creedy is the parish of Woolfardisworthy. Two of the three Domesday holdings in the parish were called Densham, which suggests that they once constituted a single land-unit, but they were in separate hands by 1066 and remained so thereafter.¹⁵⁶ The third and largest holding was that of Woolfardisworthy itself, whose post-Conquest holder, William of Poilley, granted its tithes (together with those from his other holdings) to the Norman abbey of St Martin at Sées in 1093.¹⁵⁷ The parish church was associated with William's former holding in the later medieval period and probably originated as a manorial chapel; but while William's alienation of the tithes suggests that its presumed mother church was unable to defend her vested rights, this need not imply that there was already a parochially independent church at Woolfardisworthy in the late eleventh century.¹⁵⁸ However, since there is no known tenorial connection between William's holding and either of those at Densham, one of which was acquired by a monastic institution in 1091x1106, it seems highly unlikely that a church founded at Woolfardisworthy after the Conquest could have gained parochial control of both of the Densham holdings.¹⁵⁹ Instead, it is more likely that Woolfardisworthy's parish was of pre-Conquest origin and that its church was indeed parochially independent by 1066, whether by design (through the usurpation or delegation of parochial rights at a time when the three Domesday holdings had constituted a single land-unit) or by default (such as being the only church in a 'rump' of territory that resulted from the fragmentation of a failing mother church's original parish). Yet although all three Domesday holdings lay within Witheridge Hundred this need not imply that they were once subject to a

¹⁵⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 15,31; 20,9.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, DB 21,12 & ch.21 notes; Round, 1899, p.235 no.661.

¹⁵⁸ On Woolfardisworthy church and manor, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.67, 191; *idem*, 1899, p.1389; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.362, 419; *idem*, 1923, pp.758, 787. Bishop Bronescombe dedicated the church in 1261, but this does not mean that it was then of recent foundation [*cf.* e.g. *re* Stockleigh Pomeroy: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.67; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.763; Barlow, 1996a, pp.102-3 no.112]. On tithes and their diversion by manorial lords after the Conquest, see e.g. Blair, 1985, pp.119 & n62, 125; *idem*, 1988, pp.8, 12-13.

¹⁵⁹ For Montacute priory's holding in Densham, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 15,31; Holmes *et al.*, 1894, pp.119-21 nos.1-2, 121-2 nos.4-5, 123-6 nos.8-9, 185 no.169 (for the context of the latter charter, see Sanders, 1960, p.34; Fryde *et al.*, 1986, p.472; *contra* Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 15,9 note); Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.348 no.1368; Cronne & Davis, 1968, p.216-17 no.591; but note also Reichel, 1912a, pp.65-6 no.124; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, p.760.

mother church associated with that hundred - other possibilities are Crediton or a church further to the east - and we cannot assign Woolfardisworthy to the original parish of a particular mother church on the basis of present evidence.¹⁶⁰

The parishes to the east of Woolfardisworthy formed part of the large western outlier of Budleigh Hundred, which became the separate hundred of West Budleigh in the early fourteenth century.¹⁶¹ It comprised most, and probably all, of the Domesday holdings within the parishes of Cheriton Fitzpaine, Poughill, Shobrooke, Stockleigh English, Stockleigh Pomeroy and Upton Hellions together with several in Cruwys Morchard and at least one in Cadeleigh, and although its precise extent to the north is uncertain the core territory clearly conforms to the natural topography of the east Creedy valley.¹⁶² Indeed, much of the eastern hundredal boundary - particularly that dividing the parishes of Cheriton Fitzpaine and Stockleigh Pomeroy from those of Cadbury and Thorverton - is demarcated by hollow lanes or double hedge-banks and follows the watershed between the east Creedy and Exe valleys, and there can be little doubt that here it represents one of the primary features of local landscape organisation.¹⁶³

The largest parish within this core territory was that of Cheriton Fitzpaine. Its size and central position, together with its outliers at Thongsleigh to the north (lying outside the Exeter hinterland survey area) and at Coombe to the south, strongly suggest that the most important

¹⁶⁰ Another potential clue (or difficulty) here is the enigmatic status of Emlett Hill, a parochial outlier of Down St Mary lying between Morchard Bishop and Woolfardisworthy parishes (the DRO Down St Mary tithe map is classed as 'unfit for production', but Emlett's boundaries are shown by DRO Morchard Bishop tithe map (1840) [=PRO IR 30/9/293] and DRO Woolfardisworthy tithe map (c.1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/460]; its omission from Kain & Oliver, 2001, map NP 175:9/180, is an error: cf. chapter 2.1 note 6, above), which constituted a detached tithing of (West) Budleigh Hundred in the later medieval period: Erskine, 1969, p.34 n2; Glasscock, 1975, p.55; Thorn, 1991, p.35 n3. Unfortunately, we cannot tell whether or not Emlett had lain within the 'Creedy land' bounds: Hooke, 1994, p.96 no.69. Further information is scarce and it is not always clear if references are to Emlett itself or to one of the places named from it that lay in Woolfardisworthy parish (see e.g. Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.400; Maxwell-Lyte, 1904, pp.173-7 no.564; Reichel, 1912a, p.255 no.506; *idem et al*, 1939, pp.66-7 no.878, 351-2 no.1369); and although tenorial links probably underlay Emlett's parochial and hundredal affiliations I have not yet been able to find a wholly satisfactory explanation for them.

¹⁶¹ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.414; Anderson, 1939, p.100; Erskine, 1969, pp.34-5. There was another outlier of Budleigh Hundred at Washfield, to the north-west of Tiverton: see inset on Fig. 2.2 above.

¹⁶² Thorn, 1991, pp.28-9, 29 n1, 34-5, 35 n3, 37 n7; *idem*, 1999, p.271 (map 35.2).

¹⁶³ Hoskins, 1955, pp.31-2, 67-9 & plate 13; *idem*, 1982, pp.44-5 & plates 9-10. Note, however, that his interpretation of the S 387 bounds is incorrect: see Hooke, 1994, pp.141-4. See also Gent & Quinnell, 1999, pp.26-7.

church within Budleigh's hundredal outlier was that at Cheriton.¹⁶⁴ This impression is supported by the place-name Cheriton itself (*Cerintone* in Domesday), in which the Old English word *cirice* ('church') has been chosen as the qualifier for the *tūn* ('estate') to which it referred; in other words, when the place-name was coined it was the presence at this *tūn* of either the only or the most important church that distinguished it from others in the immediate vicinity.¹⁶⁵ In either case - and they are not mutually exclusive - this seems likely to be a place-name formed before the late pre-Conquest period. In addition, there is evidence derived primarily but not exclusively from place-names and parochial topography to suggest that Cheriton Fitzpaine's parish, or at least the land-unit whose boundaries it adopted, had once extended beyond that recorded by the tithe surveys. The churches of Stockleigh English, Stockleigh Pomeroy and Poughill all appear to have originated as manorial chapels whose later parishes comprised or included lands that had been detached from the Cheriton Fitzpaine land-unit, although those at Poughill and Stockleigh Pomeroy were probably already independent parish churches by the late eleventh and the mid-twelfth century respectively.¹⁶⁶ When taken together, these scraps of evidence provide reasonable grounds for suggesting that Cheriton Fitzpaine was an Anglo-Saxon mother church whose original parish had encompassed a significant proportion of the western outlier of Budleigh Hundred but which had already begun to fragment before the late eleventh century.

The present evidence is too limited for us to speculate as to whether Cheriton Fitzpaine was founded as an independent minster or as a parochial chapel for a mother church elsewhere, but it is worth asking whether its putative original parish included the southern part of the Budleigh Hundred outlier. The present church at Upton Hellions dates from the mid-twelfth century and

¹⁶⁴ DRO Cheriton Fitzpaine tithe map (1839 & 1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/103]. For the Domesday holdings in the parish, see Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 15,17-18; 34,33; 36,19-20; 42,22; ch.44 notes; 52,23.

¹⁶⁵ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 36,19; for the interpretation of the place-name, see Cameron, 1996, pp.126, 143; Mills, 1998, p.80 (*contra* Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.414); *cf.* Gelling, 1981, pp.4-5. See also chapter 2.3 pp.54-5 above.

¹⁶⁶ For the main documentary sources, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.163, 182; Reichel, 1912a, pp.44 no.75, 136 no.273; Sanders, 1960, pp.106-7; Thom & Thom, 1985 [who provide further references], DB 15,18-19; 15,48; 34,31; 35,24; ch.44 notes (*re* Welsbere in Poughill); Bearman, 1994, p.20; Barlow, 1996a, pp.5-6 no.7, 102-3 no.112; *idem*, 1996b, pp.205-6 no.225.2, 238 no.263; for the church fabrics, see Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.691-2, 762-3. I intend to present a detailed case, including the complex toponymic and topographic evidence omitted here, at a later date.

was associated with the manor of 'Creedy Hellions', which apparently constituted an independent parish when the holder of the adjacent manor of Lower Creedy built a chapel that he granted, with its tithes, to the canons of Crediton in the early thirteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Lower Creedy survived as a chapelry of Crediton until 1270 when, because of its poverty, bishop Bronescombe annexed it to the church at 'Creedy Hellions' (by now known as Upton Hellions) to form a single benefice.¹⁶⁸ This probably marks the establishment of Upton Hellions parish in the form recorded by the tithe surveys, and it may be that Crediton's parochial outlier at Bradley also originated at this time.

None of the documents relating to the grant of the Lower Creedy chapel states that it was previously subject to the parish church of 'Creedy Hellions', although the respective references to them as *capella* and *ecclesia* imply a recognised distinction in their status and the specific inclusion of the tithes from Lower Creedy in the grant suggests that these were not previously paid to Crediton. However, it is clear that the churches of both Lower Creedy and 'Creedy Hellions' originated as manorial chapels; and in the light of what we know about the development of the English parochial system this implies that each was almost certainly founded within the original parish of an existing mother church, even if that parochial relationship was not subsequently maintained or remembered.¹⁶⁹ The obvious candidates for this mother church are Crediton, Cheriton Fitzpaine or perhaps Shobrooke, but it is difficult to determine which of these it might have been. Although there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the pre-Conquest holder of 'Creedy Hellions' was Aelmer, who also held Cheriton, Chilton and Coombe in Cheriton

¹⁶⁷ See Davidson, 1882, pp.248-51 & 258-60 nos.vi-ix, 253 & 261 no.xiv, 265-70; Reichel, 1912a, p.186 no.374; *idem et al.*, 1939, pp.124-5 no.979; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, pp.762, 774, 790-1; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.419; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,72; 34,35; 34,37, ch.44 notes; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.883-4; Barlow, 1996b, p.217 no.239.

¹⁶⁸ Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.279-80; *idem*, 1892, p.267; Robinson, 1999, p.41 no.811. Lower Creedy and Upton Hellions were still regarded as separate tithings in West Budleigh Hundred in 1334: Erskine, 1969, p.34 n2; Glasscock, 1975, p.55.

¹⁶⁹ As noted in chapter 1.2 above, both proponents and opponents of the 'minster hypothesis' agree that the network of local parish churches developed, mainly between the tenth and twelfth centuries, from a hierarchical system of subdiocesan churches [i.e. mother churches and their original parishes]: see e.g. Cambridge & Rollason, 1995, pp.97-103; Blair, 1995, pp.196-8, 210; Bassett, 1997a, pp.4-6. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that most and probably all such lesser churches originated within an area already served (if only nominally) by a mother church, without prejudice as to whether the mother church and its original parish existed before the tenth century.

Fitzpaine parish, this possible tenorial connection is too insubstantial to carry any weight without independent support.¹⁷⁰ The same could be said of the reference to tithes in the grant of the Lower Creedy chapel. Admittedly, the Domesday holdings within Upton Hellions parish lay in Budleigh Hundred; but to use this hundredal affiliation as the single determining factor is to engender a dangerously circular argument. Even if these hints are taken together, the sense that they point more towards Cheriton and less towards Crediton is not a strong basis on which to build any reliable conclusion. Topographical clues are also equivocal; the rivers Creedy and Holly Water bound Upton Hellions parish to the west and north respectively, but both are easily fordable here and the south-western corner of the parish is marked by the point at which the Creedy has been bridged by a major routeway since at least the late tenth century.¹⁷¹

One aspect of local parochial topography merits further comment, however. It is uncertain how closely the boundaries of 'Creedy land' and the 'forged' Sandford charter correspond to the north-eastern boundary of Sandford parish, but both clearly omit two intakes of land to the south of the Holly Water, at Brembridge and Preston, that lay in Sandford parish in the late eighteenth century.¹⁷² There is a strong suggestion here that - for whatever reason and at whatever date - these intakes were acquired at the expense of a land-unit that had not been directly associated with Crediton in the early eleventh century.¹⁷³

Unfortunately, however, we lack sufficient evidence to explore this suggestion further. In part, this is because the situation with regard to Shobrooke parish is also uncertain. Of the four

¹⁷⁰ On these holdings and the original suggestion regarding Aelmer's connection with the Helléan fief (the details of which are incomplete in both the Exchequer and the *Exon* texts of Domesday), see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 36,19-20; 42,22; ch.44 notes; 44,2 note. The identification of DB 36,20 *Cv(m)be* with Cheriton's southern parochial outlier of Coombe is more likely than the identification with Thongsleigh (Cheriton's northern outlier) suggested by the Thorns, which (as they admit) raises toponymic and topographical problems.

¹⁷¹ S 890 (the Sandford charter of 997): *ærest on herpod of crydian brige...*

¹⁷² See Hooke, 1994, pp.97 nos.75-7 (*re* S 1546b), 120-1 nos.15-20 (*re* S 405); *cf.* DRO Sandford tithe map (c.1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/357]; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.37, 89 nt.

¹⁷³ Although it is tempting to try to build on the potential significance of the place-name Preston, which means 'the estate of the priest(s)', neither the (very late) forms nor the context are sufficiently secure for us to do so. On present evidence it seems likely the 'Patson' form recorded by Donn, 1765, is an error rather than an earlier name that was later replaced by 'Preston': *cf.* Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.37; 1st edition 1" OS map [surveyed 1802]; Sandford tithe map [see previous note]; 6th edition 1" OS map 176 [surveyed 1930]; neither place-name is noted by Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.411-13. However, without earlier forms we cannot tell if 'Preston' derived from an original reference to more than one priest: see Smith, 1956, ii, p.73 (*s.n.* *prēost*); Cameron, 1996, pp.18, 131.

Domesday holdings in Shobrooke parish, those of Wyke, Raddon and Yendacott (which was also called 'Raddon' in Domesday) lay in the eastern half of the parish while that of Shobrooke itself lay in the western half. Although Wyke can be identified as the estate at *Munecatun* claimed by Exeter minster there is no reference to this claim in Domesday, which records that all of the holdings except for Yendacott were held by Ordwulf in 1066 and passed to Robert count of Mortain after the Conquest; Robert's estates later escheated to William II and were divided between various baronies.¹⁷⁴ There was a church associated with the Shobrooke holding by the twelfth century and this was the only church recorded in the parish by the *Taxatio* in c.1291, yet it appears that a church associated with the holding at Raddon had also been a *de facto* independent parish church in the mid-thirteenth century.¹⁷⁵ The advowson of Shobrooke had come into the hands of the bishop of Exeter in the second half of the thirteenth century, and it may be that the subsequent amalgamation of Raddon and Shobrooke parallels the contemporary situation in Upton Hellions. However, while it seems likely that both Raddon and Shobrooke originated as manorial chapels they were not necessarily coeval, and we cannot tell whether each had broken free from the control of a mother church elsewhere or whether Raddon had achieved a degree of parochial independence at the expense of Shobrooke at a later date.

However, the evidence relating to 'Creedy Hellions', Lower Creedy, Shobrooke and Raddon suggests that most manorial lords in the area were able to acquire independent parochial control of their respective holdings, but that by the late thirteenth century these small manorial parishes were no longer sustainable and the bishop had to rationalise these parochial arrangements. This introduces further ambiguities into our already limited information; indeed, despite their common location within (West) Budleigh Hundred we cannot be certain that the holdings concerned had

¹⁷⁴ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB ch.15 notes; 15,3-5; 24,4; for *Munecatun*, see also p.80 & note 66 above. For Ordwulf (probably the great-grandson of ealdorman Ordgar), see discussion of Littleham parish in section 3.5 below.

¹⁷⁵ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.48; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.180, 455; *idem*, 1892, pp.260, 368; Reichel, 1912a, p.196 no.387 (whose suggested identifications for 'the church of Raddon' have now been superseded); *idem et al.*, 1939, p.ix; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.417; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.728-9; Gent & Quinnell, 1999, p.27. In 1334 Shobrooke parish comprised four separate tithings - Shobrooke, Trew St James (in the north-west of the parish), Shute (corresponding to Wyke) and Raddon: see Glasscock, 1975, p.55.

all lain within the original parish of same mother church. Admittedly, the extent to which parochial rights passed into manorial hands suggests that the defence of matronal interests was ineffective and this, together with the various pointers noted above, tells against Crediton having been the mother church; but this inference is not conclusive, nor does it necessarily imply that the mother church (if indeed only one was involved) was that at Cheriton Fitzpaine.

* * *

The southern boundary of Shobrooke parish was also that of (West) Budleigh Hundred and follows the line of a *herepæð* - which means literally 'army path' and usually signifies a major routeway - that is mentioned in the boundary clauses of no fewer than nine Anglo-Saxon charters.¹⁷⁶ Within the Exeter hinterland area, this important feature of the early medieval landscape can be traced from the northern boundary of Broadnymet parish and across the Yeo (Nymet), Creedy, Exe and Culm valleys until it apparently forks near Ashclyst in the north of Broadclyst parish. For much of this extent it is adopted as a boundary by both Anglo-Saxon land-units and ecclesiastical parishes; between the rivers Creedy and Exe it was also followed by the 'Creedy land' bounds, while between the Creedy and Culm (and for a short stretch to the north of Clannaborough) it constituted a hundredal boundary by the time of Domesday.

To the south of the *herepæð* and to the east of Crediton is the parish of Newton St Cyres, within which can be located the lands at Newton and Norton that were restored to Exeter minster by bishop Leofric according to the *Inventory* of 1069x1072 and the yardland at Creedy Barton that bishop Eadnoth mortgaged to Beorhtnoth in c.1018.¹⁷⁷ The only holding recorded by Domesday comprised the three hides at Newton that Dunn had managed to usurp despite the efforts of

¹⁷⁶ S 255; S 387; S 389; S 405; S 498; S 795; S 890; S 971; S 1387; Smith, 1956, i, pp.244-5; Hooke, 1994, pp.90 nos.1-2, 118 no.1 (the *herepæð* mentioned in no.3 joins this *herepæð* at Copplestone), 134-5 nos.1-2, 142 no.1, 150 no.11, 174 nos.2-3, 183 nos.1-3, 195 no.2; *idem*, 1999, pp.97 (map 14.2), 102 (map 14.7), 103-4; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.90. [Some features of the eastern section of this *herepæð* were discussed in D.W. Probert & A.J. Preston, *Examination of a possible 'cross dyke' at Columbjohn, Devon*, 1996 (survey undertaken for Paul Sharman of the National Trust, Killerton House, Devon; typescript copy filed at the Westcountry Studies Library, Exeter).]

¹⁷⁷ *Inventory*, §3; S 1387; see pp.77-8, 86-7 above.

bishop Osbern, but Norton and Creedy Barton were probably held by the chapter and the bishop of Exeter respectively and subsumed within the Domesday entry for Crediton. The Newton holding appears to have escheated to the king after Dunn's death and was later acquired by Emma de Pont de l'Arche, who granted it to Plympton priory in c.1150; this (now lost) grant probably included the advowson of the present church at Newton, the oldest fabric of which seems to pre-date the mid-twelfth century, because the advowson was certainly in Plympton's hands by the time of the earliest surviving institution records.¹⁷⁸

However, there are good reasons to suppose that the present church is not the first to have served Newton St Cyres parish. As well as the *herepæd* that formed the northern boundary, the southern boundary of the parish as it existed in 1782 also followed a course first recorded in the 'Creedy land' bounds, while the eastern boundary closely matches the corresponding part of the bounds of *Brentefordland* as recorded in a charter of 944 (discussed below).¹⁷⁹ In other words, all except the western boundary of Newton St Cyres parish can be shown to have existed as conceptual boundaries by at least the early eleventh century, and it is reasonable to assume that these boundaries were also those adopted by the Domesday hundred of Crediton. In addition, later medieval records show that the Exeter chapter's holding at Norton constituted a chapelry of Newton church until both chapel and church were appropriated to Plympton priory in 1338, and there is some evidence - albeit late and circumstantial - to suggest that Creedy Barton had lain within the Norton chapelry.¹⁸⁰ This parochial relationship, and by implication Newton St Cyres

¹⁷⁸ For the grant, see Bearman, 1994, pp.163-4 no.16. The rectory was in Plympton's patronage in institution records from 1268 onwards, and Newton was still held by Plympton at the Dissolution: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.157; *idem*, 1892, p.238; *idem*, 1899, p.1335; *idem*, 1901, pp.275-6; Youings, 1955, pp.121-2 no.131; Robinson, 1999, p.24 no.675. The oldest surviving fabric in the present church belongs to an aisleless twelfth-century church (Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.596), and the arch of the south doorway suggests a date earlier than the middle of the century.

¹⁷⁹ See Pamment, 1985; Hooke, 1994, pp.90-1 nos.6-13 (*re* S 1546b), 148-50 nos.4-11 (*re* S 498).

¹⁸⁰ Hingeston Randolph, 1889, p.473; *idem*, 1892, pp.296-7; *idem*, 1894, pp.577-8; *idem*, 1897, pp.872-3; Whitley, 1910, p.473; Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.247-9 no.77. The appropriation of both Newton St Cyres church and the Norton chapel to Plympton priory required the ordination of a vicarage, for which the initial provision has not survived but which is first mentioned in 1342; it may therefore be significant that the lands to the north of the river Creedy - i.e. Creedy Barton, Norton and Langford (on which see Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.403 no.1461) - differed in their payment of tithes to the vicarage from that by the lands to the south of the river, according to a terrier cited by Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.34, which suggests that the Creedy had formed the boundary of the Norton chapelry.

parish and its church, seems most likely to have originated before Newton and Norton were tenurially separated in the late pre-Conquest period. The link between them is also emphasised by the place-names recorded in the *Inventory*. Although we do not know what it was about *Niwan tune* ('the new estate, or farmstead') that identified it as 'new' in relation to other land-units in the area, Norton's name (*Norōtune*, 'the northern *tūn*') indicates that it was once subordinate to a land-unit to the south and it would be unreasonable to regard this as being other than Newton.¹⁸¹

In short, it is almost certain that Newton St Cyres church and the extent of its parish were established during the period in which Exeter minster held both Newton and Norton, if not before. There is perhaps a *prima facie* case that the church originated as a manorial chapel after the refoundation of Exeter minster in c.931 but before the minster lost control of the Newton holding to Dunn.¹⁸² On the other hand, the *Taxatio* valuation of Newton church was higher - and in most cases was notably so - than that of all its neighbours other than Crediton, which suggests that it was then a church of above average importance and that a possible origin as a parochial chapel cannot be ruled out.¹⁸³ In either case, the most obvious candidate as the mother church from which Newton gained its parochial independence is Crediton minster, sited only three miles further up the Creedy valley, although the lack of explicit supporting evidence precludes further discussion of this possibility for the time being.

To the east of Newton St Cyres and forming the easternmost part of the territory defined by the 'Creedy land' bounds are the parishes of Upton Pyne and Brampford Speke together with the

¹⁸¹ For the place-names, see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.410; Smith, 1956, ii, pp.50-1 *s.n.* *nīwe*; Cameron, 1996, pp.143-4. The likely sense of *nīwe* here is either 'newly acquired' (as an administrative label related to a change of tenure), 'newly (re)built' (presumably referring to structures associated with the main settlement focus) or perhaps 'newly delimited' (as a sub-holding within a larger land-unit); the senses 'newly reclaimed from waste' and 'newly cultivated' are extremely improbable in the context of a prime site in the good soils of the Creedy valley (see Fig. 1.1 inset).

¹⁸² The refoundation of Exeter minster (see pp.69-72 above) provides a likely *terminus post quem* for its acquisition of Newton, but it may be significant that a part of the *Brentefordland* bounds of 944 that corresponds to the parish boundary of Upton Pyne near Bodley's farm in Newton St Cyres is described as *panen north on wulwythelandschere at alfredes* ('thence north on Wulfwith's boundary until [it meets] Alfred's [boundary]') without mention of Exeter minster's tenure: S 498; Hooke, 1994, pp.148 no.4 (*cf.* p.150 no.12, where the bounds refer to the 'king's boundary' (*kynggeslandschere*) between *Brentefordland* and the royal estate that included Thorverton).

¹⁸³ See Appendix I below. Newton church was valued at £9 in c.1291; that of Shobrooke at £6 13s 4d; that of Whitestone at £4; those of Upton Pyne and Brampford Speke at £2 6s 8d each; and that of Oldridge at 5s.

latter's outlier at Cowley, bounded to the north by the *herepæð*, to the east by the river Exe and to the south by a ridge that rises from the confluence of the Exe and the Creedy up towards Waddles Down in Whitestone parish. The Upton Pyne parish boundary closely corresponds to that of two hides at *Brentefordland* sold by king Edmund to ealdorman Æthelstan in 944, who may have given the estate to Glastonbury abbey when he retired there in 957.¹⁸⁴ However, the abbey held no land in the area in 1066, by which time these two hides had fragmented into three separate holdings, each called 'Brentford' in Domesday, the largest of which passed from Godman the priest to sheriff Baldwin's subtenant Vitalis of Cullompton after the Conquest.¹⁸⁵ It is with this latter holding and with the Pyn family, manorial successors to Vitalis, that the patronage of Upton Pyne church was associated in the later medieval period.¹⁸⁶ The earliest surviving reference to the church is from 1264 and none of the extant fabric obviously pre-dates this; yet the inclusion within Upton Pyne parish of three holdings with no known tenorial connection in or after 1066 suggests that both church and parish were established when the two hides at *Brentefordland* were still in the hands of a single holder.¹⁸⁷

The place-name 'Brentford' that recurs in the earliest references to the three holdings in Upton Pyne also gave rise to that of Brampford Speke, and this shared place-name together with the configuration of the natural and parochial topography makes it almost certain that the two parishes once constituted a single land-unit.¹⁸⁸ We do not know if Brampford and its outlier at Cowley were tenorially linked at the time of Edmund's 'grant' in 944, but they were apparently

¹⁸⁴ S 498; Hooke, 1994, pp.147-51 (this supersedes the interpretation of the bounds suggested by Rose-Troup, 1938, pp.258-66); Abrams, 1996, pp.72-3; see also Finberg, 1968, p.78; Orme, 1989, p.55.

¹⁸⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,123; 16,129; 24,2 (although their comments pre-date Hooke's work on the S 498 bounds and now require revision). *Exon* Domesday names Godman's successor as *Vitalis de Colintona*, a place-name form that could represent either Colyton or Cullompton (*cf.* Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.560, 620-3; see also section 3.5 below, at p.236 note 575); however, the personal-name Vitalis is rare in post-Conquest Devon, so that the occurrence of *Vidal æt Culumtune* as a witness to a contemporary manumission preserved in the *Exeter Book* (Pelteret, 1990, p.105 no.105; Rose-Troup, 1937, pp.423-4; see also note 254 below) makes the identification with Cullompton almost certain (*contra* Reichel, 1912b, p.330; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,129 note; Keats-Rohan, 1999, p.443).

¹⁸⁶ See *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.85; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.189, 358; *idem*, 1892, p.267; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.314, 344; *idem*, 1923, p.785; Reichel, 1912b, p.330; *idem et al.*, 1939, p.240 no.1180.

¹⁸⁷ For the church, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.189; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.884. For the post-Conquest history of the other 'Brentford' holdings in the parish, see *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.85; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.314, 344, 346; *idem*, 1923, pp.779, 785; Reichel, 1897b, p.249; *idem*, 1912b, pp.328, 333.

¹⁸⁸ The place-name *Brentefordland* is discussed in detail in chapter 4.3 below.

treated as a single holding of one hide at *Branfortune* in Domesday. Wulfnoth held it before the Conquest together with adjacent holdings at Netherexe, Rewe and Up Exe (in Rewe parish), all of which were held by Drogo as the subtenant of Geoffrey de Mowbray in 1086.¹⁸⁹ It is not possible fully to reconstruct the subsequent division of Drogo's holdings between various tenants of the barony of Barnstaple, an honour based on Geoffrey de Mowbray's former estates, but it is clear that Cowley and Rewe were held by Gilbert de Vilers in the late twelfth century whereas Brampford was held by the Treminet family until Richard l'Espece acquired it by marriage in the 1160s.¹⁹⁰ By that time, however, Brampford church had already passed out of the manorial lord's control, Walter de Treminet having granted it to St Nicholas priory at Exeter in 1150.¹⁹¹ This grant explicitly included the glebe, tithes and parochial rights, which implies that Brampford Speke was already an independent parish church; and as Cowley constituted part of Brampford's parish by 1269 this parochial link must have been established before Cowley became tenurially separated from Brampford in or before the mid-twelfth century.¹⁹²

The evidence discussed above suggests that the churches at Upton Pyne and Brampford Speke both originated as manorial chapels that later acquired public functions as parish churches, the former before the Conquest and the latter before the mid-twelfth century. Although the present churches represent later rebuildings, each has apparently developed from a small aisleless church built in the thirteenth century, and neither this nor their very low valuations in the *Taxatio* give any reason to suppose that either of them then enjoyed particular wealth or status.¹⁹³ Yet Brampford Speke was in fact a mother church throughout much of the medieval period. In 1214x1221 the then tenant of Netherexe, Richard de Cruces, came to an agreement with St

¹⁸⁹ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 3,67-71; *Exon* records that Drogo also had a subtenant, Humphrey, holding Up Exe.

¹⁹⁰ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.315; *idem*, 1920, p.613; *idem*, 1923, p.773; Reichel, 1910, pp.231-2; *idem*, 1912a, pp.309-10 no.610; *idem*, 1912b, pp.337-9; Sanders, 1960, pp.104-5; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 3,9 note; Orme, 1989, p.56.

¹⁹¹ Barlow, 1996a, p.35 no.34. The church was appropriated to the priory in 1197: *idem*, 1996b, pp.179-80 no.199.

¹⁹² ...*ecclesiam sancti Petri de Bran(t)ford', cum terris, decimis et omnibus beneficiis totius parochie ad ipsam pertinentibus*. Barlow, 1996a, p.35 no.34. For Cowley, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.35; Robinson, 1999, p.38 no.781.

¹⁹³ Both churches have been much rebuilt in subsequent centuries, but at Upton Pyne the chancel arch indicates the form of the thirteenth-century church, while at Brampford Speke evidence that pre-dates the Victorian rebuilding shows that a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century south transept was an addition to an extant aisleless church: Orme, 1989, p.63 *et passim*; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.203, 884-5. For the *Taxatio* values, see note 183 above.

Nicholas priory whereby the chapel serving his manor acquired a considerable degree of parochial independence in return for an annual payment of twenty shillings to Brampford church, although as the mother church Brampford retained the burial rights.¹⁹⁴ The wording of this agreement implies that it represented a revision of earlier arrangements, and it is highly probable that the chapel had been parochially subject to Brampford church since before the grant of Netherexe to Stephen le Fleming in c.1184x1196, after which time (if not before) Netherexe was certainly tenurially separate from both Brampford and Cowley.¹⁹⁵

There is a potentially important conundrum to be addressed here. Netherexe lies both to the north of the *herepæð* and mainly to the east of the river Exe and, unlike the components of the former 'Brentford' land-unit, it clearly had not lain within the territory defined by the early eleventh-century 'Creedy land' bounds. If Netherexe was already part of Brampford's original parish before this, then the suggestion that the 'Creedy land' bounds represent Crediton's contemporary ecclesiastical jurisdiction is seriously and perhaps fatally undermined. However, it is also the case that the four Domesday holdings in Upton Pyne and Brampford Speke lay not in Crediton Hundred but in that of Wonford in the late eleventh century, and unless this represented a fairly recent change in their hundredal affiliation it is similarly difficult to explain the 'Creedy land' bounds in terms of contemporary secular administration.

There is a further consideration that has a bearing on this conundrum. The only other point during the preceding discussions at which there appeared to be sufficient information to throw some independent light upon the nature of the 'Creedy land' bounds was in connection with the parishes of Down St Mary and Morchard Bishop. It was argued that both parishes had lain within Crediton Hundred in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries although certain minor holdings held by or from Beorhtric son of Ælfgar in 1066 were treated as parts of Tawton

¹⁹⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.3-4, 35; Barlow, 1996b, p.206 no.225.4; see also Caley, 1814, p.313; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, p.773; Dunstan, 1966, p.122; Orme, 1989, pp.57-8; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.582. At some point after the Dissolution Netherexe was detached from Brampford Speke and apparently became a chapelry of Thorverton before eventually achieving full parochial independence: see Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.52; Youngs, 1979, p.84.

¹⁹⁵ Reichel, 1912a, pp.1-4 no.1; see also *idem*, 1910, p.232; Sanders, 1960, pp.104-5.

Hundred. However, while Morchard Bishop appears to have then lain within Crediton's original parish it is highly likely that Down St Mary was an independent parish by at least the mid-eleventh century. If so, then the inclusion of Morchard Bishop within the 'Creedy land' bounds but the exclusion of Down St Mary from them is most readily explained if those bounds had an ecclesiastical rather than a secular function. Although this is not definite, clearly any viable interpretation of the 'Creedy land' bounds must accommodate not only the situation with regard to Netherexe and the 'Brentford' land-unit but also that with regard to Down St Mary parish.

That having been said, a key element of the present conundrum may actually be more apparent than real. Although by the late twelfth century Brampford church had an original parish that comprised the later parishes of Brampford Speke and Netherexe as well as the outlier at Cowley, other indicators suggested that Brampford church originated as a manorial chapel associated with a holding created by the fragmentation of the 'Brentford' land-unit. There is not necessarily a contradiction here. The holdings that passed from Wulfnoth to Drogo after the Conquest can all be located within Brampford, Netherexe or Rewe parishes and no other Domesday holdings have been identified within these parishes. Yet the main part of the Rewe holding lay within the *mansa* at Stoke Canon that Cnut granted to Hunuwine in c.1031 and perhaps remained so until Exeter minster regained control of Stoke in 1050x1066, which means that the formation of Rewe parish is highly unlikely to pre-date the mid-eleventh century.¹⁹⁶ In addition, the parochial topography suggests that Up Exe and the other parts of Rewe parish that lay to the north of the *herepæð* - which constituted the northern boundary of the land granted to Hunuwine - originated as alienations from the royal estate in Silvertown and Thorverton (see Fig. 2.5); but if so, then it also suggests that Netherexe may have had a similar origin. Overall, the impression given is that

¹⁹⁶ See pp.76-7 above for discussion and references. If, as seems probable, the *herepæð* formed the boundary between Wonford and Silvertown hundreds here, then the unnamed hide and mill held by Wulfnoth that apparently lay in Silvertown Hundred (see note 53 above; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 3,71) may be represented by Heazille - the part of Rewe parish lying to the north of the *herepæð* but to the south of Up Exe - which was sometimes named separately from Rewe in later medieval records (see *ibid.*, DB 3,68 notes, and references given there). The details of a fine show that the present boundary between Up Exe and Silvertown already existed in 1219: see Reichel, 1912a, p.53 no.95.

Wulfnoth held an *ad hoc* estate of fairly recent creation in 1066, and under these circumstances it seems likely that Netherexe and Up Exe became parts of Brampford and Rewe parishes respectively not because of earlier parochial links but through the contemporary interests and influence of their manorial lord(s) at some point between the mid-eleventh century and the fragmentation of this estate during the early twelfth century.

In other words, the tenurial interests of Wulfnoth or his immediate successors may have outweighed any earlier parochial affiliations relating to these Domesday holdings, which raises the distinct possibility that Netherexe and Up Exe were 'captured' from a moribund mother church whose original parish had not included either Brampford or Rewe (or Stoke Canon) and for which a potential candidate is a 'superior' church associated with the royal manor of Silverton.¹⁹⁷ To pursue this possibility further at the present time is perhaps to risk going beyond that which the available evidence will comfortably bear. Nevertheless, it removes - or at least significantly reduces - a potential obstacle to regarding the 'Creedy land' bounds as having had a purpose associated with some aspect of Crediton minster's ecclesiastical rights or jurisdiction.

The hundredal element of the conundrum remains problematic, however. As the Domesday holdings of Netherexe and Up Exe lay in Silverton (later Hayridge) Hundred whereas those of Brampford and Rewe lay in Wonford Hundred it is clear that - in contrast to the apparent situation with regard to the holdings of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar in Morchard Bishop - the tenurial interests of Wulfnoth or Drogo had not influenced hundredal organisation here. In other words, either they lacked the ability to influence the contemporary imposition of a hundredal boundary that bisected their estate, or the boundary between Silverton and Wonford hundreds was established before Wulfnoth acquired his holdings in the area. Furthermore, if the two hides at *Brentefordland* had ever been part of Crediton Hundred then their transfer to Wonford Hundred

¹⁹⁷ Although it is highly likely that there had been a minster (or perhaps a parochial chapel of Cullompton minster) either at Silverton or, less probably, at Thorverton, there is not sufficient space to discuss the evidence here; cf. the discussions relating to Cullompton and Bradninch in section 3.4 below (at pp.185-8). For a good discussion of the circumstances in which later tenurial links might subvert earlier parochial affiliations, see Bassett, 1997b, pp.31-2.

seems more likely to have occurred when they still constituted a single holding rather than after they had fragmented into the three tenurially separate holdings recorded in Domesday. Of course, it remains possible that there were changes to local hundredal organisation after the 'Creedy land' bounds were written in the early eleventh century but before the estates held by Wulfnoth in 1066 became tenurially linked and the *Brentefordland* holding fragmented; but the balance of probabilities does not favour this interpretation, and it looks more as though the components of the former 'Brentford' land-unit already lay in Wonford Hundred at the time when the 'Creedy land' bounds were written.

* * *

It was noted earlier that the 'Creedy land' bounds demand an explanation in terms of contemporary jurisdictional or administrative patterns of landscape organisation. Unfortunately we have very little surviving evidence of the type that would allow us to examine the various alternatives in detail, and that which we do possess is all too often ambiguous. Nevertheless, the discussions with regard to Upton Pyne, Brampford Speke and Netherexe and those with regard to Down St Mary and Morchard Bishop have each provided sufficient indications for tentative conclusions to be advanced, and when taken together these support each other and point in a similar direction. On balance, it seems highly unlikely that the 'Creedy land' bounds can represent the extent of Crediton Hundred in the early eleventh century, and this conclusion also seriously undermines Finberg's original suggestion that they defined a part of the episcopal ship-soke. Although it remains possible that the bounds fulfilled some other function in terms of secular administration, there appears to be no contemporary parallel for such large-scale secular units of landscape organisation other than the two options already considered. Instead, it seems more probable that the 'Creedy land' bounds defined a territory that existed for some ecclesiastical purpose. This is not to say that this territory necessarily represents Crediton's original parish at its

early eleventh-century extent; although none of the evidence considered so far precludes this possibility, there is insufficient to establish it beyond reasonable doubt.

Before drawing any final conclusions, however, there is one important feature of the 'Creedy land' bounds that has not yet been discussed. Although an examination of the parishes in the area comprising the western part of Wonford Hundred and the north-western part of Teignton Hundred - even in an abbreviated form - lies beyond the scope of the present study, it is necessary to make a few brief observations about the parishes of Cheriton Bishop, Drewsteignton and Hittisleigh to the extent that they may bear both upon our interpretation of the 'Creedy land' bounds and on the possible extent of Crediton's original parish. The qualification made earlier should be re-iterated here, in that the following comments must be regarded as provisional until such time as the detailed parish analyses can be presented in full.

Many features of the south-western part of the 'Creedy land' bounds remain unidentified or ambiguous, and more research and fieldwork are required to clarify these. Nevertheless, a sufficient number of landmarks have now been identified or confirmed by Hooke in the most recent study of the bounds to reveal their general pattern.¹⁹⁸ From the Exe westwards the bounds seem to follow the same line as the parish boundaries as far as the Ford Brook (which rises in the north-east of Cheriton Bishop parish), thereby including Cowley, Newton St Cyres and the southern part of Crediton within 'Creedy land' but omitting the parishes of Whitestone, Oldridge and Tedburn St Mary. None of the subsequent boundary points - including one that refers to a ford on the river Yeo - can be securely identified until Grendon in the westernmost tip of Cheriton Bishop is reached, whereafter the bounds run east along a *herepæð* that forms the parish boundary between Cheriton Bishop and Drewsteignton. The bounds may then follow the eastern boundary of Drewsteignton to reach the river Teign, after which they run upstream as far as

¹⁹⁸ Hooke, 1994, pp.90-4 nos.4-50. The following summary is based on Hooke's work but it should not be taken as representing her views and does not follow her interpretation on all points of detail.

Parford in the south-west of the parish. Beyond this, however, the precise route of the bounds is again uncertain until they reach the river Troney near Hittisleigh's outlier at Thornbury.¹⁹⁹

Whether or not the 'Creedy land' bounds correspond exactly to the relevant parish boundaries, it is apparent that they incorporate a significant proportion of Drewsteignton and Hittisleigh parishes while omitting at least the southern and eastern parts of Cheriton Bishop parish. Yet the complex and interlocking parochial topography strongly suggests that these three parishes had once formed part of a single land-unit.²⁰⁰ If so, then it had clearly fragmented before the early eleventh century, and by the time of the Conquest at least sixteen holdings and sub-holdings can be identified within the three parishes.²⁰¹ So far as present purposes are concerned, we seem to be faced with two alternatives: either the whole of this putative land-unit had once lain within Crediton's jurisdiction but part had subsequently been lost or alienated, or the land-unit had initially lain outside Crediton's jurisdiction but a significant proportion had subsequently come under its control. In either case, in the light of the discussions above it seems probable that this jurisdiction was ecclesiastical rather than secular in nature.

There are a few scraps of further information that, when taken together, may help us to determine which of these alternatives is the more likely. The most significant clue is that provided by the place-name Cheriton, 'the *tūn* with a church', which should perhaps be considered in conjunction with that of Preston - which means 'the *tūn* of the priests' - in the south-east of

¹⁹⁹ Between Parford and the river Troney three of the boundary points can be associated with known place-names, but not necessarily with particular landscape features. For example, *drascumbes heafod* is clearly associated with Drascombe in Drewsteignton (Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.432), but Hooke's identification of the *heafod* with the field-name 'Coombes Head' in a sub-valley to the south-west of Drascombe is open to question; if the main valley is the referent here, then its head corresponds to the point that links the western quasi-outlier of Martin with the main body of Drewsteignton parish (which significantly affects the interpretation of the S 1546b bounds here).

²⁰⁰ The parish boundaries seem to fossilise a complex division of lands in the hills and valleys of the watershed zone between the Creedy and Teign river systems. Hittisleigh, its outlier, the northern extension of Drewsteignton and most of Cheriton Bishop parish lie to the north of the main watershed whereas the body of Drewsteignton parish together with Lambert and Eggebeer in Cheriton lie to the south of it; to the west, Martin (a place-name derived from Old English (*ge)mære-tūn*, 'the estate, or farmstead, at the boundary': Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.432; Dr Margaret Gelling, *pers. comm.*, February 2001) not only straddles the watershed but also includes the highest point of the hills that divide these two river systems from that of the Taw. Apart from the area around Parford, the steep-sided gorge of the Teign forms an obvious southern boundary to this putative land-unit.

²⁰¹ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,28 note; 15,59; 16,93; 16,107; 16,114-15; 16,130; 35,21; 43,1; 43,3-4; 52,11-13; 52,15. All of these holdings lay in Wonford Hundred in the late eleventh century.

Drewsteignton parish.²⁰² These place-names suggest that, at some point in the pre-Conquest period, either the only or the most important church in the immediate vicinity was located at Cheriton Bishop and that a community comprising more than one religious had held land about two miles away that once lay within the same putative land-unit as the church.²⁰³ Obviously, we cannot be certain that the priests referred to at Preston were associated with this particular church, but it seems distinctly possible that the identifier of the place-name Cheriton was a 'superior' church served by more than one priest; in other words, a minster.

Other clues are rather more nebulous, however. For example, a feature of the Domesday holding of Cheriton and one of two holdings called Lambert (in the central southern part of Cheriton Bishop parish) is that they each appear to have comprised more land than their assessments of only one virgate in 1086 would suggest.²⁰⁴ If these represent instances of beneficial hidation then we have good reason to suppose that they were once held either by the king or by an institution or individual whose assessment had been reduced as a mark of royal favour. It is also the case that royal interests within the putative land-unit being considered here were formerly more extensive than they were in the late eleventh century, when the only royal lands here were the outliers of the royal hundredal manor of Wonford at Drascombe and Budbrooke in Drewsteignton parish (see Fig. 2.5).²⁰⁵ In 976 king Edward granted to his *vassalus* Ælfsige an apparently small holding (*pertica*) described as *Hyþles eald land*, a name that can be associated with the place-name Treable in the west of Cheriton Bishop parish, and although the bounds of Ælfsige's holding remain uncertain it seems likely that Treable itself lay outside the

²⁰² Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.427 (*re* Cheriton, *Ceritone* in 1086), 434 (*re* Preston, *Prusteton* in 1270); but for the interpretation of the place-name Cheriton, see p.112 & note 165 above [the affix 'Bishop' arose after bishop Bronescombe acquired the Cheriton advowson in 1258x1270: see Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.48, 122-3; Reichel, 1912b, pp.334-6; Robinson, 1999, p.44 no.824 & n68]; for Preston, *cf.* note 173 above.

²⁰³ There is no evidence to suggest that a religious community ever held Preston in or after 1066.

²⁰⁴ Later medieval evidence suggests that the Domesday holding of Cheriton included sub-holdings at Wilson, Treable, Easton, Mill and Staddon, which together with Cheriton itself appear to account for about half of the parish, yet it was only assessed at 1 virgate (albeit also at only 3 ploughlands) in 1086: see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,11 notes. The two Domesday holdings called Lambert were each assessed at 1 virgate; but whereas that held by Osbern in 1086 had an assessment of 2 ploughlands, that held by Godwin was assessed as having 12 ploughlands, which locally would usually correspond to about 1½ hides: *ibid.*, DB 43,4; 52,12.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*, DB 1,28 notes. On beneficial hidation, see e.g. the discussion by Harmer, 1952, pp.374-6.

‘Creedy land’ bounds.²⁰⁶ Treble is not mentioned in Domesday and its details were probably subsumed in the entry for Cheriton; but while the latter’s apparently reduced assessment raises the possibility that *Hyples eald land* was in fact a larger holding than the use of *pertica* implies, such speculation cannot usefully be pursued until such time as the bounds are solved.

Perhaps the only significant details here are that tenurial fragmentation was underway by the late tenth century and that it involved, at least in part, the alienation of royal land. However, we do know of one other pre-Conquest grant of land in the area, and some of the details relating to it point to a probable link between several of the holdings discussed above. In the early eleventh century Ælfgar Mæw granted land at Loosebeare (in Zeal Monachorum parish) and at Medland (in the north-east of Cheriton Bishop parish) to Cranborne abbey; but although the abbey retained its holding at Loosebeare it apparently lost control of Medland, which was held by one Ælfstan (*Alestan*) in 1066 and by Godwin of Chittlehampton, who may have been Ælfstan’s son, in 1086.²⁰⁷ Godwin’s former estates, like those of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar, were granted to Robert fitzHamon by William II and became part of the honour of Gloucester, and when Robert recruited monks from Cranborne to refound Tewkesbury church as a Benedictine abbey in 1102 (whereafter Cranborne became a cell of Tewkesbury) he gave Medland to the new abbey, thereby effectively restoring the *status quo ante*. What connects all this with the matter in hand is that Godwin and his *antecessor* Ælfstan held not only Medland but also the holdings at Cheriton (with which the advowson was associated in later records) and Lambert that apparently had beneficial assessments; they also held Coombe in Drewsteignton parish, of which Preston seems to have been a part.²⁰⁸ As these were their only holdings within the parishes of Cheriton, Drewsteignton and Hittisleigh, this correlation seems to go beyond the limits of mere coincidence.

²⁰⁶ S 830; Hooke, 1994, pp.176-80; see also Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.429; Finberg, 1953, pp.28-32; Chaplais, 1966, pp.15-16 no.16; Insley, 1998, pp.186-8, 193; Padel, 1999, pp.89-90. For the place-name, see also chapter 4.2 below.

²⁰⁷ For this and what follows, see Hooke, 1994, p.185; Williams, 1997, pp.43-4 & n12 (*contra* Reichel, 1912b, p.334); Bassett, 1997a, pp.11-12; see also p.105 above (*re* Loosebeare); Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB ch.24 notes; 52,13; Reichel, 1912a, pp.85 no.166, 343-4 no.672; Youings, 1955, pp.17-18 no.22; Barlow, 1996a, pp.125-6 nos.137-8.

²⁰⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,11-13; 52,15. For the advowson, see references given in note 202 above.

The existence of a tenorial link between these holdings in the late eleventh century does not prove that such a link had existed at some earlier point in the pre-Conquest period, of course. For instance, we do not know how or when Ælfstan acquired his holdings; although it is possible that he was another of Beorhtric's dependent or commended men and that his lands had once formed part of the estates held by Beorhtric's father Ælfgar Mæw, the evidence in support of this possibility is highly circumstantial. What Ælfstan's tenure of these holdings does suggest, however, is that Cheriton church and any lands it may once have held - Preston being the most obvious candidate here - had fallen into secular hands. If so, then whether the church originated as an independent minster or as the parochial chapel of a mother church elsewhere it may well have retained little or no trace of its former 'superior' status by the time of the Conquest.

That having been said, it must be admitted that these discussions have revealed little that helps us to determine what lies behind the eccentricities of the south-western portion of the 'Creedy land' bounds, as had been hoped, although we may now be able to clarify the alternatives to some extent. It seems likely that Cheriton church originated as a pre-Conquest minster or sub-minster with an original parish that included the later parishes of Cheriton Bishop, Drewsteignton and Hittisleigh. It is also possible that it included the parish of Tedburn St Mary as well, because the position of Cheriton church near the eastern edge of its putative original parish seems anomalous and suggests that the area subject to Cheriton had once extended further to the east, although there is not the space to explore this suggestion at the present time. In any event, it seems that by the early eleventh century this original parish had fragmented - although perhaps not in terms of secular administration, as all of the Domesday holdings within it lay in Wonford Hundred - and that the western and southern parts of it were then associated with Crediton rather than Cheriton. At this point we again face our two alternatives, which now appear to be either that Crediton lost part of its original parish when its former parochial chapel at Cheriton fell into secular hands and gained its independence, or that parts of the original parish served by an

independent but moribund minster at Cheriton were transferred to Crediton's jurisdiction. Although the former alternative appears to offer the simplest interpretation, no final decision is yet possible and each alternative raises questions that cannot be addressed until the bounds both of 'Creedy land' and of *Hyþles eald land* - and their relationships to the local parish boundaries - have fully been resolved.

* * *

With our survey of the parishes in and around the Crediton area now complete it is time to consider briefly what has emerged from the preceding discussions. It is apparent that the 'Creedy land' bounds record an early eleventh-century administrative or jurisdictional territory for which Crediton is the obvious focus. Although limited, there is sufficient independent evidence to show that the original purpose of these bounds was not tenurial and is not readily explicable in terms of contemporary secular administration; instead, it is most probable that they were compiled to serve an ecclesiastical purpose. If so, then that purpose was almost certainly connected with some aspect of the rôle or rights exercised by Crediton minster within the large sub-diocesan territory that the 'Creedy land' bounds record, and the most obvious contemporary analogue for an ecclesiastical land-unit of this size would be the parish of a mother church. Yet although it seems likely that 'Creedy land' represents the extent of Crediton's parish in the early eleventh century, this has not been established beyond reasonable doubt by the present survey; indeed, it may never be possible to do so because of the lack of suitable surviving evidence.

However, the arguments that have been presented with regard to the probable extent of Crediton minster's original parish are not dependent upon a particular interpretation of the 'Creedy land' bounds. Indeed, in this respect the bounds have only been used as evidence to establish that certain parish boundaries already existed as conceptual boundaries in the early eleventh century, and the arguments are if anything strengthened by the likelihood that 'Creedy land' represents an ecclesiastical territory associated with Crediton minster. We can be confident,

therefore, that in the late Anglo-Saxon period Crediton minster had a parish that included not only the later parishes of Crediton, Sandford and Kennerleigh but almost certainly those of Colebrook and Morchard Bishop as well. There is also a strong suspicion that Crediton's contemporary parish had included Newton St Cyres, Upton Pyne and Brampford Speke; but as this suspicion is based mainly on topography, the inclusion of these parishes within 'Creedy land' and the absence of evidence to the contrary, there is a risk of circular argument here and the matter should be left open until further evidence can be found. Similarly, we lack sufficient evidence to determine if the putative original parish of Cheriton Bishop church - incorporating the later parishes of Cheriton Bishop, Drewsteignton, Hittisleigh and perhaps Tedburn St Mary - had initially formed part of Crediton's original parish, and it seems best to regard these four parishes as constituting a discrete ecclesiastical land-unit until such time as they and the adjacent parishes can be examined in detail.

There is one final observation to be made before we move on to consider Exeter minster and to attempt the reconstruction of its original parish. Despite the necessarily lengthy discussions involved, it is apparent that the analysis of parochial and other conceptual boundaries can usefully augment and often clarify the limited documentary and other evidence relating to the early medieval land-units of Exeter's hinterland. As with the various layers in an archaeological excavation, however, conceptual boundaries can at best indicate a likely relative chronology unless they can directly or indirectly be associated with some datable feature, and even then it is rarely possible to suggest more than a vague *terminus ante quem* for their formation. This is a significant limitation; for example, although we can establish the probability that Crediton minster's original parish existed by the late tenth or early eleventh century, we cannot - at least on the basis of the evidence considered here - determine whether it was then of fairly recent creation or was coeval with Crediton's foundation in early eighth century.

3.2.2: Reconstructing Exeter minster's original parish.

The transfer of the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter in 1050 was finalised by a ceremony at Exeter minster in which Edward the Confessor and queen Edith formally enthroned Leofric in the presence of archbishop Eadsige, probably on St Peter's Day (29th June).²⁰⁹ Leofric reconstituted the minster community as a quasi-monastic cathedral chapter; its initial size and composition are uncertain, but it probably included a few religious from Crediton or who had accompanied Leofric from Lotharingia in 1041 and it is possible that some members of the existing Exeter community were retained.²¹⁰ In any event, it is apparent from documents such as the *Record of Moving* and the *Inventory*, supported by the archaeological evidence, that there was institutional continuity at Exeter minster despite these changes in its personnel and status, and this continuity was maintained when bishop William de Warelwast and the chapter moved into their new cathedral building in 1133.²¹¹ What is also significant is that, unlike the monastic rules that governed some cathedral chapters, the ninth-century version of the Rule of St Chrodegang that Leofric adopted for the Exeter chapter meant that the canons functioned as an episcopal *familia* and were not separated from the pastoral duties of their cathedral; indeed, it envisaged that canons might be priests who served lesser churches, presumably with cure of souls.²¹²

As was the case with regard to Crediton minster in the previous section, it is the institutional continuity of Exeter minster's public role as a church that concerns us here. However, although the *Inventory* and Domesday Book give us a good picture of the lands held by St Peter's in the late eleventh century (the inclusion of St Mary in the dedication becomes less common after the Conquest), they provide us with no direct evidence about the territorial extent of its parochial

²⁰⁹ S 1021; *Record of Moving*, §§2-5; Chaplais, 1966, pp.28-31 no.27; Blake, 1974, pp.50-1; Conner, 1993, pp.215-19; Insley, 1998, pp.176-7, 192-4.

²¹⁰ *Record of Moving*, §6; Chaplais, 1966, p.30 (*re* S 1021) & n2; Blake, 1974, pp.48, 50, 53-4; Orme, 1980, p.99; Allan *et al*, 1984, p.393; Barlow, 1996a, pp.liv-vi; Orme & Henderson, 1999, p.499; see also pp.74, 95 above. William of Malmesbury's claim [*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, §94; the edition is that of Hamilton, 1870, p.201, and the translation is that of Prest, 2002, p.134] that Leofric expelled a community of nuns from Exeter minster is usually assumed to be spurious, but *cf.* note 237 below *re* St Sidwell's church.

²¹¹ For discussion and references, see pp.62-3, 73-4 above; see also Pelteret, 1990, p.104 no.103.

²¹² Barlow, 1996a, pp.liv-viii; see also Blair, 1985, pp.116-17; *idem*, 1998, pp.281ff; Franklin, 1992, *passim*.

jurisdiction. Any attempt to reconstruct Exeter minster's original parish, therefore, is dependent mainly upon the evidence that can be obtained from post-Conquest and later medieval sources.

That having been said, it is a fairly straightforward task to establish the core elements of this original parish, in part because the surviving sources are relatively informative (at least by Devonian standards) and also because a lot of useful work on the Exeter material has already been done by other researchers. Early examples of the types of information upon which we can draw come from settlements between Leofric's successor, bishop Osbern (1072-1103), and the priory of St Nicholas, a cell of Battle abbey founded at Exeter in the 1080s on intramural land belonging to the church of St Olaf.²¹³ One possibly forged episcopal *actum* permits the priory to receive the tithes due to St Olaf's together with any donated by parishioners of St Peter's (*ex parochianis sancti Petri*); a more reliable *actum* allows that the monks of St Nicholas can sound their bells but must participate in the ceremonial processions to the cathedral on certain festivals in return, while other documents reveal that Osbern was reluctant to grant burial rights to the priory despite the pressure put on him by archbishop Anselm and popes Urban II and Paschal II.²¹⁴

What bishop Osbern sought to defend here - and what the priory sought to become independent from - were the vested parochial rights and status that St Peter's could claim as Exeter's mother church. In this instance, participation in processions was a symbolic recognition of this status that the priory had to accept as a condition of its *de facto* independence; in other instances, such as the processions from various city chapels to the mother church (*matricem ecclesiam suam Exoniensem*) to collect their baptismal chrism at Pentecost, the maternal rôle of St Peter's is more explicit.²¹⁵ However, what really emphasises the control that St Peter's exercised over the city's other churches and chapels, and which Osbern was prepared to risk papal

²¹³ St Olaf's was probably founded by countess Gytha in the mid-eleventh century and was granted to Battle abbey by William I after the Conquest: see S 1037; S 1236; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 9,2; Bates, 1998, pp.161-5 no.22; see also chapter 2.3 above, at p.56 & note 115. For the foundation of St Nicholas priory, see also discussion *re* Cullompton church in section 3.4 below (at pp.181-2).

²¹⁴ Barlow, 1996a, pp.3-4 no.4, 6-7 no.8 (on which see also Förster, 1933b, p.49 no.15; Pelteret, 1990, p.103 no.101).

²¹⁵ Barlow, 1996b, pp.170-1 no.188, 221 no.244; see also Orme, 1991c, p.126. For analogues, see e.g. Blair, 1988, p.2; Hase, 1988, pp.58 & n71, 60 (*re* Christchurch); Franklin, 1992, pp.176-7 (*re* Winchester).

displeasure in order to protect, was its virtual monopoly of burial rights. The archaeological evidence strongly suggests that this burial monopoly was a mother church right long held by the Anglo-Saxon minster, which was associated with the only known early medieval cemetery within the city walls, and by the mid-twelfth century the bishop and chapter had secured further protection for this monopoly with a papal privilege to the effect that no cemetery could be established within the parish of St Peter's (*infra terminos parochie Exoniensis ecclesie*) without their permission.²¹⁶ That both the monopoly and the parish then extended beyond the city walls into what was later Heavitree parish is apparent from the conditions imposed by the Exeter chapter when they granted burial rights to St James priory in 1143 and to Polsloe priory in c.1160: the cemeteries were to be used only by inmates and associates of the priories and were not to receive any other parishioners of St Peter's for burial.²¹⁷ As if to ensure that the relinquishing of one parochial right to the priories would not lead to their claiming others, the grants also emphasise that all of the tithes from St James and Polsloe must be paid to the cathedral.

The processions and the burial monopoly are not the only indications that St Peter's had long been the sole mother church within the city walls. Of the twenty-five or so intramural 'churches' that existed by the early thirteenth century, only St Nicholas priory and the small post-Conquest collegiate church serving Exeter castle had a significant degree of parochial independence; the remainder - of which about half were then held directly by the Exeter chapter - were in fact only chapels, some with cure of souls but all apparently subject to the authority of St Peter's as their mother church.²¹⁸ Indeed, it is possible that certain payments made by 'the provost(s) of Exeter' to each chapel at Martinmas (11th November) and Hockday (shortly after Easter), first mentioned

²¹⁶ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.290 (privilege of pope Innocent II, 1130x1143); Poole, 1907, p.79 (no.2239); Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.15-16; Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, pp.156-9; Allan *et al*, 1984, pp.391, 395; Franklin, 1992, pp.191-2 (*cf.* pp.174-5 *re* Winchester); Henderson, 1999, p.488. For analogues, see Barrow, 1992; see also e.g. Blair, 1988, pp.8, 11, 13; Hase, 1988, pp.54-6, 60-1 (*re* Christchurch); Kjølbye-Biddle, 1992, pp.222ff (*re* Winchester).

²¹⁷ Poole, 1907, pp.45-6 (no.2074), 49 (no.1374); see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.292; Lega-Weekes, 1934, pp.182-3; Orme, 1991c, p.123; Bearman, 1994, pp.75-8 nos.26-8; Barlow, 1996a, pp.32-5 no.33 (notes).

²¹⁸ Most early references to the intramural chapels are assembled and discussed in Rose-Troup, 1923, although some of her comments are now in need of revision; see also chapter 2.3 above (at pp.54, 56-7); Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.451-2; Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, pp.166-8; Barlow, 1996a, pp.lvi, 20-2 no.22 (note); *idem*, 1996b, pp.172-4 no.190.

in the early thirteenth century but claimed then to be of late eleventh-century origin, constituted a relic of even earlier church-scot payments by the city to the minster, although the evidence in support of this suggestion is equivocal.²¹⁹ In any event, the combined evidence indicates beyond reasonable doubt that the entire intramural area had formed part of Exeter minster's original parish and in all probability had done so long before Leofric's arrival in 1050.

* * *

As it seems likely that Exeter minster's original parish had also included lands beyond the city walls, it is useful to reconnoitre the surrounding area before we move on to consider the relevant ecclesiastical evidence. Domesday records that in 1086 the burgesses of Exeter held twelve ploughlands that lay outside the city but within its jurisdiction, so that like the city itself - which had possessed burghal status since the late ninth century - the city's ploughlands will not have formed part of Wonford Hundred.²²⁰ Research by Hoskins, John Allan and others has shown that these city lands are almost certainly represented by Exeter St David parish (whose boundaries appear to correspond to those of Duryard manor, first mentioned as a city possession in the twelfth century) together with the extramural parts of Exeter Holy Trinity parish and probably the whole of Exeter St Leonard parish.²²¹ Domesday also records an unnamed church that together with nearly fifty houses and land 'which lay with the burgesses' land' formed part of the episcopal fief in 1086, and it is probable that these correspond to St Sidwell's church and the *Sidefullan hwiisc* - later known as St Sidwell's fee and constituting most of Exeter St Sidwell parish - that was restored to Exeter minster by Leofric according to the *Inventory*.²²² To the southwest of the city, between the West Gate and the crossing-point of the river Exe, was an area of eyots and

²¹⁹ Franklin, 1992, pp.191-2; see also Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.11-13, 16; cf. Harmer, 1952, pp.409, 412 no.117.

²²⁰ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB C7; see also p.65 & note 10 above.

²²¹ Hoskins, 1957, pp.x-xi & map; *idem*, 1963, pp.14-15 (but cf. Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.436, *re* 'Duryard'); Allan *et al*, 1984, pp.407-9 & fig.129. Note that the narrow strip of land that runs around the city wall to connect the parishes of Exeter St David and Exeter Holy Trinity is wrongly shown as part of the latter parish in Kain & Oliver, 2001, map NP176/1:9/275; cf. DRO Exeter St David tithe map (1842) [=PRO 9/30/172].

²²² Allan *et al*, 1984, p.407 (*contra* Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,1); cf. Hoskins, 1957, p.xi; see also chapter 2.3 above (at p.56 & note 113); section 3.2 above (at p.76 & note 50).

drained marsh that eventually developed to become an industrial suburb during the twelfth century; much of this low-lying land made up the manor of Exe Island, which did not constitute part of the city but lay in Wonford Hundred and was the site of the hundredal moot.²²³ The royal hundredal manor of Wonford itself, together with five smaller Domesday holdings, lay within what became the parish of Heavitree, which enclosed the city and the other lands noted above 'like a large fleshy peach round a tiny stone' (as Hoskins graphically put it).²²⁴ Last in this brief survey of the extramural lands is Topsham, occupying the peninsula between the rivers Exe and Clyst to the south of Heavitree parish, which Leofric supposedly restored to Exeter minster only for it to be usurped by earl Harold, after which it passed to William I and then to Harding son of Eadnoth before Henry I granted it to Richard de Redvers.²²⁵

Our evidence for churches in this large extramural area tends to be implicit rather than explicit prior to the mid-twelfth century, and the earliest relates to the church of St Sidwell. An Old English list of saints' resting-places, which in its present form dates from 1013x1031, locates *Sidefulla* 'outside Exeter', while *sancta Satin(i)ola* - apparently a Latin translation of *Sidefulla* - is included in three eleventh-century Exeter relic-lists of which one also refers to miracles 'at her tomb' (*æt hire birgene*), and these records imply that a cult of St Sidwell and an associated shrine existed in the Exeter area by the early eleventh century.²²⁶ That this shrine lay, or at least was later believed to lie, within the church and land-unit that bore St Sidwell's name is confirmed by bequests made to her tomb (*cercophaga*) and its custodian in a fourteenth-century will.²²⁷ In

²²³ Hoskins, 1957, p.xi; *idem*, 1963, pp.24-5; see also Reichel, 1912b, pp.278-9, 313. There was a timber bridge across the Exe here by the late twelfth century, replaced by a stone one in c.1200: Henderson, 1999, p.489.

²²⁴ Hoskins, 1963, p.14 (he was referring to Wonford manor, but the description seems more appropriate to Heavitree parish); see also DRO Heavitree tithe map (1843) [=PRO 9/30/201] (note that the narrow strip of Heavitree parish that extends to the river Exe between the parishes of Exeter St David and Stoke Canon is omitted by Allan *et al.*, 1984, p.408 fig.129, and is wrongly shown as part of Upton Pyne parish in Kain & Oliver, 2001, map NP176:9/251). For the Domesday holdings: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,28 (Wonford: assessed at only ½ hide but with land for 20 ploughs and valued at £18 - a clear instance of beneficial hidation); 3,99 (Polsloe); 16,91 (Polsloe); 19,38 (Whipton); 34,56 (Heavitree); 52,50 (*Jacobeschere*).

²²⁵ For details and references, see section 3.2 above (at p.78 & notes 58-9).

²²⁶ See Rollason, 1978, pp.64, 68, 92 no.38; Conner, 1993, pp.172-3, 186-7 no.143, 198 no.153, 205 no.146; see also Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.437 (the forms cited are incomplete); Förster, 1933a, pp.18-19 n28; Orme, 1991c, p.123; *idem*, 1992, pp.170-2 (and with minor revisions in *idem*, 2000, pp.234-5); *idem*, 1996, p.163; Henderson, 1999, p.487.

²²⁷ The will is cited by Orme, 1992, p.172; *idem*, 2000, p.235.

addition, the *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, written in Brittany in 884 and surviving in tenth-century and later copies, associates Paul's sister *Sitofolla* with a religious institution near the shore of the English Channel; the description of the location is vague, but *Sitofolla* appears to be an attempted rendering of Old English *Sidefulla* and, whatever the veracity of the *Vita* itself, it suggests that St Sidwell's cult was sufficiently established by the late ninth century to be known in Brittany.²²⁸ This accumulation of evidence makes it highly probable that St Sidwell's was an important church with its own saint and cult by the early eleventh century, and one that may well have been already in existence when Æthelstan refounded Exeter minster in the early tenth century.

Only a further three or four extramural churches can be identified from the handful of surviving sources that pre-date the mid-twelfth century, although this does not preclude the contemporary existence of others that are mentioned only in later records. A pre-Conquest church is implied by the place-name *Jacobeschirche*, a Domesday holding of Ælfeva in 1066 and 1086 that is clearly the same as the *Iacobes Cyrca(n)* associated with Wulfweard son of Ælfric in two late eleventh- or early twelfth-century manumissions, and the *capella sancti Jacobi* was included when earl Baldwin de Redvers granted the land of Walter fitzWulward [i.e. Wulfweard] to found St James priory in the early 1140s.²²⁹ Furthermore, the agreement (noted above) whereby the Exeter chapter granted burial rights to St James priory also specified that the priory held this chapel from the chapter, and these details render it almost certain that *Jacobeschirche* formed part of Exeter minster's original parish. Yet St James priory lay in the southwest of what became Heavitree parish; and as the existence of Heavitree church by the 1140s is evidenced by a reference to 'Sægar the priest at Heavitree' in the early twelfth century, the implication is either that Heavitree too then lay within Exeter's original parish or that Heavitree's parish was extended

²²⁸ For the *Vita*, see Cuissard, 1881-3, pp.415-16, 418-19, 434-6; certain of the name-forms used may support the claim by its author, Wrmonoc, that he was drawing on an earlier version: see Jackson, 1953, pp.41-2; cf. Bowen, 1969, pp.175-8, who notes Wrmonoc's use of reports from *transmarini* for his account of Paul's early life in Britain. The vague description of *Sitofolla*'s institution does not preclude an Exeter location: the Exe estuary and the river were probably navigable as far as Exeter in the early medieval period (Henderson, 1999, p.491), and from a seafaring or Breton perspective it could well be described as being near the sea-shore (*contra* Orme, 2000, p.234; cf. *idem*, 1996, p.24).
²²⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,50; Reichel, 1912b, p.317; Rose-Troup, 1937, pp.421-2; Pelteret, 1990, pp.101 no.97, 108 no.113, 110-11 no.123; Bearman, 1994, pp.75-8 nos.26-8; Barlow, 1996a, pp.lxxxi, 32-5 no.33.

subsequently at Exeter's expense.²³⁰ Sægar the priest occurs as the second of thirteen witnesses to a manumission relating to Wonford, which also lay in Heavitree's later parish, and his rôle as an important local witness raises the possibility that the priests who occur as the first witnesses to three manumissions relating to Topsham - one from c.1045 and the other two from the late eleventh or early twelfth century - were those serving a contemporary church at Topsham, although the evidence in this instance is both circumstantial and inconclusive.²³¹ Rather more definite is the toponymic by-name of Avicia *de sancto Leonardo*, who granted land near Exeter to St James priory in the late 1140s, which implies that the *capella sancti Leonardi* - explicitly mentioned in related documents of some thirty years later and eventually becoming the parish church of Exeter St Leonard - was already in existence by the mid-twelfth century.²³²

Perhaps the most important feature of these hints and scraps of evidence is that they provide some valuable contextual links, however vague, between the situation in the pre- and early post-Conquest periods and that suggested by the more explicit and detailed information that can be obtained from later records. Two of these later documents in particular command our attention in this respect. The first is a grant of papal protection by pope Eugenius III to the Exeter cathedral chapter in 1153 - effectively a papal confirmation of the chapter's existing rights and possessions - and one clause specifically includes the churches of St Michael at Heavitree, St Margaret at Topsham and St Sidwell with the chapels, lands and tithes in the city and suburbs of Exeter that were known to belong to the chapter's [i.e. to St Peter's] parish.²³³ This provides explicit support for the earlier suggestion that at least part of the suburbs lay within Exeter's

²³⁰ Pelteret, 1990, pp.101-2 no.98; Orme, 1991c, p.123.

²³¹ Cynestan the priest witnesses in c.1045; the priests Smeawine and Alwine are the first witnesses in one of the two later manumissions and in the other Alwine the priest witnesses without Smeawine: see Pelteret, 1990, pp.105-6 no.107, 110-11 no.123, 115 no.138; see also Förster, 1933b, pp.51 no.21, 54 no.35 (but cf. note 254 below).

²³² Bearman, 1994, pp.77-8 no.28; Barlow, 1996a, pp.80-2 no.95, 85-6 no.97. St Leonard's does not appear to have become a fully independent parish church until at least the fourteenth century and possibly later: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.272; *idem*, 1889, p.451; *idem*, 1897, p.1049; *idem*, 1899, p.1366; *idem*, 1901, p.450; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.473; Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.vii, 47; Dunstan, 1963, pp.172-5.

²³³ *Ad communitatem videlicet: ecclesias sancti Michaelis de Hevetriu, sancta Margarete de Toppesham, sancta Satiuole cum tota terra ipsius, terras etiam et domos, quas habetis in urbe et in suburbio Exoniensi et capellas, quas habetis in urbe et extra urbem, cum terris et decimis earum, que ad propriam parrochiam uestram pertinere noscuntur...*: Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.247-9 no.77.

original parish, and it also establishes that the three extramural churches of St Michael, St Margaret and St Sidwell were then in the chapter's possession. However, there is some evidence, albeit circumstantial, to suggest that these three churches were not recent acquisitions.

We know from the *Inventory* that Exeter minster had lost its Topsham holding prior to Leofric's arrival in 1050 and regained it only briefly before it was usurped by earl Harold and passed permanently into secular hands. The near identity of the boundaries of Leofric's forged Topsham charter and Topsham's later parish suggests that St Margaret's was founded to serve the Topsham holding, while the occurrence of church-scot as a manorial revenue in the thirteenth century may indicate the arrogation of this former ecclesiastical due at a time when it was still being collected and at the expense of Topsham's mother church.²³⁴ Consequently, there is a *prima facie* case that St Margaret's church is most likely to have been in the Exeter chapter's possession because it had been retained when Exeter minster lost control of the Topsham holding, and this case would be strengthened if the priests who witnessed the manumissions associated with Topsham were accepted as evidence that its church was founded before the mid-eleventh century.²³⁵

A rather different situation must lie behind the chapter's possession of St Michael's church, however, because although St Peter's exercised certain ecclesiastical rights over parts of what became Heavitree parish we have no evidence that it had held or claimed any lands within that parish. If St Michael's was not founded to serve one of the minster's holdings, then a clue to its origins is perhaps provided by Domesday's assessment of the Heavitree holding in carucates rather than hides, which (in Devon) implies that this land had never been hidated and suggests that it was once part of the adjacent royal manor of Wonford.²³⁶ It seems distinctly possible - to

²³⁴ S 433 (on which see also Hooke, 1994, pp.122-7); DRO Topsham tithe map (c.1843) [=PRO IR 30/9/415] (*contra* Kain & Oliver, 2001, map NP176:9/312); Maxwell-Lyte, 1916, p.157 no.473.

²³⁵ See note 231 above. It is worth noting that a will of 1295 mentions both a *capellano parochiali* and a *clerico parochiali* of Topsham (Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.433-5); the latter would constitute an unusually early - although not impossibly so - reference to a 'parish clerk', which suggests that he was actually an ordained cleric who assisted the chaplain (Professor Robert Swanson, *pers. comm.*, February 2000) and that Topsham church was served by two priests in the late thirteenth century. If so, then the possibility that this perpetuates a much earlier arrangement is raised by the occurrence of two priests, Smeawinc and Alwinc, as the first witnesses to one of the manumissions.

²³⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,2 (note on 'Carucates of land'); 1,28; 34,56; Reichel, 1912b, pp.340-1.

put it no more strongly - that St Michael's originated as what was effectively a royal manorial chapel for Wonford and that it was served, either from the first or perhaps only after the alienation of the Heavitree holding, by the priests of Exeter minster.

In the case of St Sidwell's church we have good evidence to suggest that it was founded before, and perhaps considerably before, the early eleventh century. Whatever the precise origins of the church, however, the *Inventory* implies that Exeter minster had held and then lost control of *Sidefullan hiwisc* before Leofric eventually regained the holding at some point between 1050 and 1069x1072. In this instance it seems reasonable to assume that the chapter's possession of St Sidwell's church was linked to its possession of the associated holding, although this does not preclude the possibility that the church and the minster existed independently of each other before or for some time after the latter's refoundation in the early tenth century.²³⁷ In any event, and as was also the case with regard both to St Margaret's church and to that of St Michael, it can be argued - although not proved - that St Sidwell's church was held by the Exeter chapter in 1153 because it was already held by Exeter minster before the time of the Conquest.

The fact that the churches of St Michael, St Margaret and St Sidwell were named and described as *ecclesiae* in the papal grant of 1153 implies that they were regarded as having a status or function distinct from that of the anonymous *capellae*; indeed, they may well have had defined parishes and exercised parochial functions.²³⁸ However, the second document to be considered makes it clear that they were not independent parish churches. It is an actum of 1194x1204 whereby bishop Henry Marshal settled a jurisdictional dispute between the Exeter chapter and the archdeacon of

²³⁷ One further possibility should perhaps be noted at this point, although the evidence upon which it draws is highly circumstantial. Wrmonoc's late ninth-century *Vita Pauli Aureliani* suggests that *Sitofolla* was associated with a community of female religious (Cuissard, 1881-3, pp.434-6); the abbess Eadgifu who made a leasing agreement with abbot Leofric regarding Stoke Canon in the late tenth or early eleventh century was presumably associated with a community of nuns in the Exeter area although this has not yet been identified (S 1452; Robertson, 1956, p.344 note); and Förster, 1933a, pp.18-19 n28, points out that *Sidefullan hiwisc* could mean 'Sidwell's house (i.e. monastery)', rather than 'Sidwell's (land for one) household (i.e. hide, estate)' or similar. It is just possible, therefore, that William of Malmesbury's claim that bishop Leofric expelled a community of nuns from Exeter minster when he took possession in 1050 (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, §94; Hamilton, 1870, p.201) was based on a tradition of such a community having once existed at St Sidwell's, perhaps forming a joint community with that of the minster, but stronger evidence would be required before any weight could be placed on this possibility.

²³⁸ A fine of 1198 refers to the *parochia S' Sativole*. Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.293; Reichel, 1912a, p.15 no.20.

Exeter, and it includes a list of twelve intramural and five extramural churches - the latter comprising those of St Clement (in the later parish of Exeter St David), St David, St Sidwell, St Michael of Heavitree and St Margaret of Topsham - that were held directly by the chapter and therefore lay outside the archdeacon's jurisdiction.²³⁹ Each church is explicitly described as a *capella* and, given the context of the dispute, this is almost certainly an accurate description of their contemporary status relative to St Peter's in its rôle as Exeter's mother church.

Later medieval reorganisations eventually led to St Michael of Heavitree being established as the mother church for a large extramural parish that incorporated those of Exeter St David and Exeter St Sidwell as chapelries, while Topsham became a *de facto* independent parish and had acquired its own cemetery before the end of the thirteenth century.²⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the evidence discussed above strongly suggests that all four of these extramural parishes, like those within the city walls, had once lain within Exeter minster's original parish. The only extramural areas that have not yet been considered are Exe Island and the parishes of Exeter Holy Trinity and Exeter St Leonard, and these can be dealt with briefly here.²⁴¹ Although much of Exe Island eventually formed the parish of Exeter St Edmund it is unlikely to have acquired separate ecclesiastical provision until after it began to develop as a suburb during the twelfth century, before when it was probably served by one or more of the intramural chapels; two of these - Allhallows-on-the-Walls (held by the Exeter chapter) and St Mary Steps - certainly included parts of this area within their later parishes. The area of city lands that constituted much of Exeter Holy Trinity parish was also served by an intramural chapel, and one that was already in the hands of the Exeter chapter by the time that we first hear of it in bishop Henry's actum, noted above. Lastly, the

²³⁹ Barlow, 1996b, pp.172-4 no.190; see also Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.v-vi, 17-18; Hoskins, 1957, p.xi.

²⁴⁰ See Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.126; *idem*, 1889, pp.433-5; Orme, 1991c, pp.123-4; Barlow, 1996b, pp.224-5 no.248, 228 no.252, 284-5 no.320; Robinson, 1999, pp.42-3 no.818. However, it is notable that St Sidwell's church is recorded in the *Taxatio* whereas those of St Michael and St David are not: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.465.

²⁴¹ See (generally) Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.17-20, 47-8; Barlow, 1996b, pp.172-4 no.190. For the parishes serving Exe Island, see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.76, 140, 164, 435-6; *idem*, 1894, p.351; Hoskins, 1957, p.xi & map; Orme, 1996, p.161; Henderson, 1999, p.489. For Exeter Holy Trinity, see Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.271; *idem*, 1889, pp.76-7; *idem*, 1892, pp.156, 215; Rose-Troup, 1923, pp.37-9, 41-2, 44 (postscript), 53; Dunstan, 1966, pp.259-63. For Exeter St Leonard, see note 232 above; Maxwell-Lyte, 1916, p.409 no.1439; Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.16 no.790; Bearman, 1994, pp.105-6 no.61.

earliest explicit reference to St Leonard's church (in 1177x1184) describes it as a chapel, at which time it was surrounded on three sides by chapelries of Exeter cathedral and on the fourth by the river Exe; in this situation it seems highly likely that Exeter St Leonard parish, like all of the other later parishes so far discussed in the present section, had formed part of Exeter minster's parish in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

* * *

It has been possible to reconstruct a compact but substantial territory around Exeter and lying to the east of the river Exe that, with a high degree of confidence, can be suggested as having lain within Exeter minster's original parish. That having been said, it must also be admitted that there is very little evidence to indicate that Exeter's original parish had extended much beyond these limits. Of course, this may be simply because the surviving evidence is often ambiguous and rarely of the type needed for such a reconstruction, but we should not discount the possibility that this apparent territorial limit represents the real situation.

On the grounds of proximity, for example, a possible candidate for inclusion within Exeter's original parish might be St Thomas the Apostle parish, which occupies the west bank of the river Exe opposite the city. The two main Domesday holdings within the parish, Cowick and Exwick, passed to sheriff Baldwin after the Conquest and his successors granted them to found Cowick priory, a cell of Bec-Héllouin, in 1090x1133; this priory either adopted or became the site of the parish church of St Andrew, which was eventually superseded by its own chapel of St Thomas in the early fifteenth century.²⁴² However, there is nothing to suggest that the Exeter chapter held any vested rights with regard to the church or priory of Cowick, in contrast to the broadly contemporary agreements relating to the priories of St Nicholas, St James and Polsloe, nor is Cowick mentioned in the jurisdictional dispute between the chapter and archdeacon of Exeter

²⁴² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,106 (Cowick); 16,109 (Exwick); ch.22 notes (*re* a holding at *Sotrebroc*); Orme, 1996, pp.150-1; see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, pp.72-3; *idem*, 1889, pp.59, 127; Reichel, 1912b, p.324; Youings, 1955, pp.4-7 no.7; Sanders, 1960, p.69 (*re* Baldwin's heirs); Dunstan, 1966, pp.182-7; Pelteret, 1990, pp.101-2 no.98, 104 no.103 (*re* a prior of St Andrew's in 1033), 106 no.108, 115 no.137; Robinson, 1995, pp.138-41 no.403.

settled in 1194x1204. Obviously, it is difficult to establish a negative, particularly *ex silentio*. Given the anomalous location of the former church of St Andrew in the extreme south of St Thomas the Apostle parish and a couple of insubstantial hints in later medieval sources it is possible to argue that this parish and that of Alphington had once constituted a single ecclesiastical land-unit; if so, then one might stretch this argument to incorporate Exeter minster's holding at Ide, but this seems to push already doubtful evidence too far.²⁴³ Indeed, there are equally valid or better reasons for regarding Alphington to have been part of the original parish of Exminster, where a minster associated with a royal - and later hundredal - manor existed by the late ninth century and was still served by a community of priests at the time of the Conquest.²⁴⁴ In the light of these uncertainties, together with the strong suspicion that the parishes of Upton Pyne and Brampford Speke are most likely to have lain with Crediton minster's original parish, it is unsafe to regard Exeter minster's original parish as having included any of the lands to the west of the river Exe.

Perhaps the best case - albeit by no means a strong one - for an area that could be considered as a part of Exeter's original parish is that with regard to the parish of Stoke Canon. Like Ide, Stoke was an estate that Exeter minster claimed to have received from Æthelstan, in which the minster certainly had a vested interest before Leofric's arrival in the mid-eleventh century and of which it had regained control by 1066.²⁴⁵ We do not know when a church was first established on the holding but it may well have been parochially independent by 1148, when the existing life-interest of Richard fitzGodfrey (either a canon or an episcopal clerk) in *ecclesiam de Stoches* was explicitly protected in an actum whereby bishop Robert de Warelwast granted permission for the

²⁴³ For Alphington, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,43; Bearman, 1994, pp.182-3 no.8; Barlow, 1996b, p.215 no.236; see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.107, 452, 476; *idem*, 1901, p.159 no.137; Maxwell-Lyte, 1906b, pp.50-3 no.71, 254-8 no.438; Reichel, 1912a, p.223 no.448; *idem et al*, 1939, pp.256 no.1208, 398-9 no.1451; Morey, 1937, p.92; Youings, 1955, pp.64-5 no.69; Dunstan, 1968, pp.296-9; Pelteret, 1990, pp.100-1 no.96. For Ide, see pp.75-6, 80 above.

²⁴⁴ S 1507; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,4; see also *ibid.*, DB 15,55; 19,7-9; 34,12; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.141, 452-3; Reichel, 1912a, p.36 no.59; Maxwell-Lyte, 1916, p.157 no.473; Orme, 1991a, p.10; Bearman, 1994, pp.138-9 no.103; Barlow, 1996b, p.200 no.219. There is not sufficient space available to attempt a reconstruction of Exminster's original parish at the present time.

²⁴⁵ See pp.72 (note 31), 76-7, 122-3 above. It is possible that a small Domesday holding of 1 virgate at *Cohm* represents Culm Vale in Stoke Canon parish, but the identification is uncertain: see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 49,4.

chapter to appropriate the churches on its prebendal lands.²⁴⁶ While none of these details demonstrates that Stoke had once been part of Exeter's original parish as well as constituting one of its estates, neither do they present any obvious objections to its inclusion; the same could be said for the observation that Stoke adjoined Exeter's original parish to the south while lying outside the 'Creedy land' bounds to the west. On balance, all we can really say is that in the absence of any evidence to the contrary Stoke Canon seems more likely to have lain within Exeter minster's original parish than within that of another mother church.

When we turn to consider Huxham and the other parishes to the east of the Culm, however, a key factor to be taken into account is that there is good evidence to indicate the existence of a former minster at 'Cliston' (now Broadclyst).²⁴⁷ Although it is not feasible to discuss this putative minster in more detail at the present time, on topographical grounds alone the way in which the parishes of Huxham and Poltimore interlock with each other and with that of Broadclyst, together with the distinctly liminal position of Broadclyst church relative to its nineteenth-century parish, strongly suggests that they had once formed part of a single land-unit.²⁴⁸ Separating these three parishes from that of Heavitree is Pinhoe, whose pre-Conquest secular status may be indicated by its choice as the place where the king's reeves mustered the Devon *fyrð* prior to its defeat by a Scandinavian force in 1001 (and after which Pinhoe, Broadclyst and 'many other goodly homesteads' were razed).²⁴⁹ In any event, Pinhoe was held by earl Harold's brother, earl Leofwine, in 1066 and passed to William I after the Conquest, who had granted 'the manor's

²⁴⁶ Barlow, 1996a, pp.31-2 no.32; see also *ibid.*, pp.15-17 note; *idem*, 1996b, pp.224-5 no.248. Stoke was included in the *Ad prebendas* section of the papal confirmation of 1153: Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.247-9 no.77.

²⁴⁷ Among the indicators of Broadclyst church's 'superior' - and probably former minster - status are: its possession of dependent chapels as well as lands by 1149, when it was confirmed to the monastery of SS Sergius & Bacchus at Angers and its daughter-house, Totnes priory (Barlow, 1996a, pp.45-6 no.50; see also Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.50 no.735a); its valuation of £18 18s 4d in the *Taxatio*, the seventh highest within the entire Exeter hinterland survey area (see Appendix I below); the size and shape of its early nineteenth-century parish (noted below), within which lay numerous Domesday holdings and sub-holdings with a total assessment of over 15 hides (Thorn & Thorn, 1985 [who provide further discussion and references], DB 1,56; 16,89; 16,92; 43,2; 49,2-3; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, p.777; Reichel, 1934, *passim*); and its tenurial association with the Domesday hundredal manor of Cliston.

²⁴⁸ If so, then it seems almost certain that Broadclyst's original parish will also have included the small part of Rewe parish that extends to the east of the river Culm - another of Wulfnoth's pre-Conquest acquisitions, perhaps?

²⁴⁹ ASC A *s.a.* 1001; Sawyer, 1983, *s.n.* Pinhoe.

church with one virgate of land' to Battle abbey by the time of the Domesday survey.²⁵⁰ This looks very much like a manorial chapel with provision for a single priest, and one that had already gained parochial independence before the Conquest; but neither later records nor the parochial topography provide us with any indication as to whether it had previously lain within the original parish of Exeter minster or in that of Broadclyst.

The only area that has not yet been discussed comprises the parishes to the east of Heavitree and Topsham in the lower Clyst valley. Of these, only Sowton parish lies (mainly) on the western side of the river, which here formed the boundary between the Domesday hundreds of Wonford and (East) Budleigh. Sowton was held by Edric in 1066 and, like the adjacent holding of Wigod the priest (in the western part of Farringdon parish), passed to Geoffrey of Mowbray after the Conquest; the holdings had separate descents, and the parts that lay to the east of the Clyst (and later known as Bishopsclyst), together with the advowsons of Sowton and Farringdon churches, were acquired by the bishops of Exeter in the late thirteenth century.²⁵¹ To the south of Bishopsclyst, the parishes of Clyst St Mary and Clyst St George can each be identified with a single Domesday holding and their churches show every sign of having originated as manorial chapels.²⁵² Nothing in the later medieval evidence suggests that any of these four Domesday holdings had lain within Exeter's original parish, although there are a few fragments of late eleventh-century evidence, already discussed above, which should perhaps be noted again here. We know that bishop Leofric restored lands at *Brihtrices stane*, in the northern part of Clyst Honiton parish, and at an unidentified *Clist* to Exeter minster (although the latter holding may have been lost again subsequently), and that the cathedral possessed a late eleventh-century

²⁵⁰ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,52; Barlow, 1996b, pp.145-6 no.160; cf. Reichel, 1898, pp.293-4.

²⁵¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,7; 3,93; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.50-1, 82, 124, 141; *idem*, 1892, pp.104-7, 202, 217 n2; *idem*, 1897, pp.1210-11; Reichel *et al.*, 1939, pp.24-5 no.805; Alcock, 1973, pp.141-5; Pelteret, 1990, pp.102 no.99, 107 no.111. Clarke, 1994, pp.356-7, identifies Wigod the priest with Wigod of Wallingford (on whom see Harmer, 1952, p.577), but this seems doubtful in the light of the available evidence.

²⁵² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,30; ch.44 note (the 1066 holder of Clyst St Mary is unknown); Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.125, 340, 456; Poole, 1907, p.53 no.2120 (cf. Round, 1899, p.536 no.1455); Reichel, 1912a, p.82 no.159; Rowe, 1914, pp.150-1 no.256; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, pp.763-4, 790; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.272. Wichin, the 1066 holder of Clyst St George, can probably be identified as Wichin 'the boatswain' who witnesses a Topsham manumission of c.1045: see Pelteret, 1990, p.115 no.138; cf. S 1474.

forgery purporting to be a tenth-century grant of land at *Clystwicon* - corresponding to all or part of Clyst St George and Clyst St Mary parishes and perhaps part of Bishopsclyst - to one Æthelnoth.²⁵³ It is apparent that in the late eleventh century Exeter minster held or claimed several lands in the lower Clyst valley; but, as with the minster's holdings at Ide and Stoke Canon, in the absence of supporting evidence this tenurial interest need not imply that these lands by the Clyst had lain within Exeter's original parish. Unfortunately, the clues provided by parochial topography are ambiguous here; while it appears more likely that Clyst St Mary and Clyst St George would have been associated with Woodbury than with lands to the west of the Clyst, the interlocking nature of Clyst Honiton, Farringdon and Sowton parishes may indicate either that they had once constituted a single land-unit or that Clyst Honiton and Sowton had acquired land at the expense of Farringdon. Once again we are faced with an unsatisfactory conclusion: although there is no firm evidence to suggest that Exeter's original parish had extended to the east of the later parishes of Heavitree and Topsham, equally this possibility cannot be ruled out.

There is, however, one further body of evidence that needs to be considered, and which relates in part to Clyst St George but more generally to Exeter cathedral and an aspect of its rôle in the popular religious culture of the Exeter area. Among the additions made to a Gospel book written at Exeter during Leofric's episcopacy was a record of fourteen local guildships with lists of their members; these lists were almost certainly written down in their present form during Osbern's episcopacy (1072-1103) and quite possibly after 1086.²⁵⁴ Each guild comprised between twelve

²⁵³ S 669; *Inventory*, §3; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,17. For discussion and further references, see pp.76, 78-9 above.

²⁵⁴ See Thorpe, 1865, pp.608-10; Earle, 1888, pp.264-6; Förster, 1933b, pp.53-4 no.34 (although none of these give the full lists of members and some of the place-name identifications are open to question); for further references, see Pelteret, 1990, pp.110 nos.120-2, 111-14 nos.124-34; see also Rosser, 1988, pp.31-2; Orme, 1991a, pp.18-19. The guildship lists are part of a complex group of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Devonshire texts that includes one of the copies of Leofric's *Inventory*, an actum of bishop Osbern and a large number of local manumissions, releases and other transactions. Most of this group now comprise folios 0-7 [*sic*] of the *Exeter Book* [Exeter, Cathedral Library, Dean and Chapter MS. 3501], but these folios originally formed parts of the preliminary quire and end-leaves of a Gospel book [now Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ii.2.11 (1744)] written at Exeter during Leofric's episcopacy; as a consequence of the removal and relocation of these folios, the texts that they preserve are no longer in their original order or context: see Ker, 1957, pp.28-31 no.20 (*contra* Förster, 1933c, pp.56-7); Conner, 1993, pp.242-4. To complicate matters further, the texts were added by many different hands at different times and combined contemporary entries with retrospective copies of earlier texts. The guildship lists and several of the manumissions (including that witnessed by *Vidal at Culumtune*, see note 185 above) were apparently written by the

and forty-four members and was constituted at a named place, with three at Woodbury, two at Colaton Raleigh, and one each at Broadclyst, Bridford, Clyst St George, *Lege* (possibly Doddiscombsleigh), Nutwell (in Woodbury), Sidmouth, Halsford (in Whitestone), Whitestone and lastly *Axamuða* (either Exmouth in Littleham or Axmouth).²⁵⁵ The preamble to the first guildship list, at Woodbury, records that it has been adopted in fellowship by bishop Osbern and the canons of St Peter's minster at Exeter; it then notes that the guildship would pay to the canons a penny 'from each hearth' at Easter and another penny as soul-scot (*sawul sceote*) for a service on the death of a guild member, after which follows the list of members' names.²⁵⁶ The arrangements for the second guild, also at Woodbury, are given in more abbreviated form and differ from the first on certain points, while for the remaining guilds no such details are recorded. The implication is that all of the guilds were affiliated along broadly similar lines but that the purpose of the present record was to preserve the members' names, not the statutes of their guilds. It is in effect a note of the cathedral's obligations to and receipts from the various guilds, and it appears that the arrangements made were short-lived: all the lists of members were written by the same scribe, probably compiled from existing texts, and although space was left after each list for further names to be added as necessary, no such additions were made.²⁵⁷

While the possible reason for these guilds seeking to affiliate themselves to the cathedral is something that lies beyond the scope of the present study, what is apparent is that the locations

same hand; it was described by Ker as being 'of late eleventh-century character' and dated by him as s.xi^{ex} or xi/xii (*contra* Förster, 1933b, pp.44, 54), a date confirmed by the references to bishop Osbern (1072-1103) and to Harding, whose father Eadnoth the Staller was killed in 1068 (*ASC D s.a.* 1067; Plummer, 1892-99, i, p.203, ii, p.261; see also Harmer, 1952, pp.558-9; Clarke, 1994, pp.117, 127, 281-3). Although some aspects of the guildships are discussed briefly below and in other sections of the present chapter, the sheer volume of the material (305 personal-names) and its complex relationship to the other texts with which it is preserved (notably the manumissions and releases), together with the need to consider this material in the contexts both of the contemporary human landscape and of the surviving guildship records from elsewhere, mean that a full consideration of the Devon guildships lies beyond the scope and available space of the present thesis. While I intend to pursue these matters in more detail at a later date, it would also perhaps be premature to do so before the long-awaited publication of B.J. Muir, ed., *The Electronic Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* (University of Exeter Press, now scheduled for release in September 2002).

²⁵⁵ Where necessary, these place-name identifications will be discussed in more detail at the appropriate places in the later sections of the present chapter.

²⁵⁶ Förster, 1933b, p.53 no.34a-b, misleadingly translates *sawul sceote* as 'church-scot'.

²⁵⁷ The erasure of one name and the insertion of another are probably corrections by the original scribe, while the only use made of the space left after each list of names was to record a manumission relating to Topsham that must have been added soon after the guildship lists were written into the Gospel book, and perhaps in the same hand.

of the guilds did not bear any direct relationship to the extent of Exeter minster's original parish. In no case can we find reliable or even reasonable independent evidence to suggest that any of these guilds were based at places that lay within Exeter's original parish. By contrast, there are several instances in which it can be shown that they almost certainly were not, notably that at Broadclyst, noted above as itself being the site of a probable former minster, and those at Woodbury, Colaton Raleigh, Nutwell and Sidmouth, whose parochial affiliations will be discussed in detail in the fourth of the case studies to be presented in the present chapter. Indeed, if any significance is to be attached to their geographical distribution then it almost appears as though the guilds are evidence of areas that did *not* lie in Exeter's original parish.

* * *

If the reconstruction of Exeter minster's original parish proposed above is largely correct then one major question remains, although it is for the present unanswerable: when was this original parish established? As was the case with regard to Crediton, the chronological ambiguities of much of the surviving evidence do not yet allow us to determine whether Exeter's original parish was coeval with or even subsequent to Æthelstan's refoundation of the minster in c.931 or whether it was based upon some earlier territory such as that of an existing secular land-unit or of an ecclesiastical land-unit inherited from the minster's predecessor. Nevertheless, this first (albeit bipartite) case study has shown that a pattern of large-scale ecclesiastical landscape organisation that is most conveniently described as a 'mother church system' - a term used here without prejudice to the interpretations presented by opponents and proponents of the 'minster hypothesis' - existed within the Exeter hinterland area in or before the early eleventh century and can, to some extent at least, be recovered. What we need to do now is obtain a broader picture of this 'system' and examine its relationships to other patterns of local landscape organisation, and that is what the three remaining case studies will set out to do.

3.3: Case study II: the Kingsteignton area.

The second case study will examine the area of the lower Teign valley and its tributaries, the rivers Bovey and Lemon. At the time of the Domesday survey this area comprised the south-eastern half of Teignton (later Teignbridge) Hundred, parts of Exminster and Kerswell (later Haytor) hundreds and three outliers detached from the main body of Wonford Hundred. Neither Domesday nor any surviving pre-Conquest document records a church in this area, nor does any extant church within the area preserve evidence of pre-Conquest fabric. This does not mean that there were no pre-Conquest churches in the area, however. What it does mean is that any reconstruction of the early medieval ecclesiastical geography must rely heavily upon post-Conquest and later medieval ecclesiastical, administrative and tenorial records, and must consider these in the light of the topographic and toponymic evidence.

The *caput* of Teignbridge Hundred was the royal manor of Kingsteignton, whose Domesday assessment of just over one hide despite having land for sixteen ploughs suggests an instance of beneficial hidation; three smaller Domesday holdings, all in secular hands and with a total assessment of one hide, can also be located within Kingsteignton parish at Whiteway, Gappah and Twinyeo.²⁵⁸ Although Domesday makes no mention of a church at Kingsteignton the existence of one in the pre-Conquest period has become widely accepted because of an argument proposed by Reichel, which was based mainly on the fact that Kingsteignton church was one of five within the Exeter diocese that were held by Salisbury cathedral in the twelfth century.²⁵⁹ He argued that because Salisbury already held one of these five churches in 1086 it was probable that the other four churches also existed and were in Salisbury's hands by that time. Furthermore, he suggested that the most likely way for Salisbury to have acquired the five

²⁵⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,10; 16,157; 34,44; 52,46. The name Teignton Hundred occurs only in documents connected with the Domesday survey, whereafter it was always referred to as Teignbridge Hundred (Gover *et al*, 1932, p.462; Thorn, 1991, p.38); for convenience, only this latter name will be used in the present case study.

²⁵⁹ Reichel, 1915, pp.195ff; *cf. idem*, 1898, pp.286-7; *idem*, 1939, pp.336-7, 339. Reichel's argument was adopted by Rose-Troup, 1929, p.260, whence e.g. Haslam, 1984, pp.276-7; Holdsworth, 1986, p.58; *idem*, 1991, p.25; Weddell, 1987, pp.79-81 (although the latter also anticipates several of the points made here).

churches was if the church of Sherborne, Salisbury's episcopal predecessor, had held them previously, and if so that Sherborne's acquisition of these churches must have pre-dated the division of the see of Sherborne in c.909 by which the see of Devon was created. The suggestion that there was a church at Kingsteignton by the time of Domesday is not itself an unreasonable one and may receive indirect support from archaeological evidence, but the assumptions upon which Reichel's argument was based are in need of reassessment.²⁶⁰

The Salisbury holding was known as the 'Teignton prebend' by the early thirteenth century, when it comprised the Devon churches of Kingsteignton, Yealmpton, Kenton, West Alvington and Harberton.²⁶¹ It was certainly in existence by the late 1140s, when four of these churches were mentioned in a settlement between earl Baldwin of Devon and bishop Joscelin of Salisbury that represents the earliest recorded of numerous related disputes involving the bishops of Exeter and Salisbury, the papacy and the earls of Devon that continued into the thirteenth century.²⁶² Yet although Yealmpton church was indeed held by Salisbury cathedral in 1086, the Domesday evidence is ambiguous and could represent either a recent grant by William I or a confirmation of an existing possession following the transfer of the episcopal seat from Sherborne to Salisbury in 1075x1078.²⁶³ It does not imply that any of the other four churches existed and were also in Salisbury's possession in 1086, nor that Sherborne had held any of the five churches before this. Indeed, it is probable that the 'Teignton prebend' originated in c.1122

²⁶⁰ Archaeological excavations to the north of Kingsteignton churchyard revealed three ditches of apparently Anglo-Saxon date (radiocarbon dates obtained from wood charcoal from one of the ditches were in the range AD 550-890 at two standard deviations, interpreted by the excavator to indicate a date between the seventh and tenth centuries); topographical analysis of boundaries and other recorded features relative to the alignment of the ditches suggested 'that a Saxon enclosure existed on the site of the present churchyard': Weddell, 1987, pp.89-90, 93.

²⁶¹ Kingsteignton and Kenton lie within the Exeter hinterland survey area, while Yealmpton, West Alvington and Harberton are in south Devon. They were collectively referred to as *prebendam de Tengton* in bishop Brewer's insepimus (1224x1244) of a papal confirmation issued in 1224: Barlow, 1996b, pp.261-3 no.289 (who also summarises the disputes up to 1245 and augments the references given in the following note).

²⁶² Bearman, 1994, pp.9, 78-80 nos.29-30 (the settlement relates only to the churches of Kingsteignton, Harberton and West Alvington, although the subsequent instructions issued by earl Baldwin to his son Richard for their restoration to Salisbury also includes that of East Allington [see note 264 below]; Kenton is explicitly omitted from the settlement, and there is no mention of Yealmpton); see also Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.208-13 nos.53-4 (the first is a grant of papal protection to Salisbury in 1146 that includes all of the churches except for that of East Allington).

²⁶³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,16; 1,18; Reichel, 1913, p.170; see also Rich-Jones, 1883-4, i, pp.198-9; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xiii-xiv, xxxii-iii; Kemp, 1999, pp.xxix-xxx.

when Kingsteignton, Harberton and West Alvington were among four Devon churches granted to Salisbury cathedral by Serlo, the ‘collector of Devon’, whose intention was that they should form a prebend to be held by his son Richard and then by suitable members of his kin.²⁶⁴ How Serlo came to hold these churches in the first place is unknown and it remains possible that his grant represents a restoration of property to Salisbury, although his family retained an interest in the prebend and did not renounce their claim to it until 1227.²⁶⁵ The only hint of a possibly earlier arrangement is found in a claim by Adeliz, earl Baldwin’s mother, to rights in West Alvington church that Henry I (1100-1135) had granted to Salisbury ‘to augment a prebend’, which implies that the prebend existed in some form prior to Henry’s grant of West Alvington but not necessarily before c.1122.²⁶⁶ Reichel’s original suggestion therefore remains a possibility, but it cannot be sustained on the basis of the evidence so far offered in support of it.

However, we can say that a church associated with a royal hundredal manor certainly existed at Kingsteignton by the early twelfth century, and the fact that the prebend came to be named after Teignton suggests that this was then the most important of the churches included within it. In addition, the value of the church (including its vicarage and its chapel at Highweek) was assessed at nearly £23 in c.1291, more than any other church in its immediate vicinity, and we have already seen that such relatively high valuations can be an indicator of former ‘superior’ status.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, the place-name Preston, in the western part of Kingsteignton parish and constituting part of the ‘Teignton prebend’, is *Prustaton* in its earliest recorded form of 1335 and therefore refers to priests in the plural rather than the singular, which very probably indicates that it was, or had been, the holding of a priestly community of the type that would serve a

²⁶⁴ Rich-Jones, 1883-4, i, pp.381-3 (whose dating of c.1108 for Serlo’s grant, adopted by Rose-Troup, 1929, p.260 n4 and Weddell, 1987, p.79, is incorrect); Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.181 no.1372; Kemp, 1999, pp.12-3 no.16. Serlo’s grant omits Yealmpton and Kenton churches but includes that of East Allington (in south Devon).

²⁶⁵ Barlow, 1996b, pp.261-3 no.289; Kemp, 2000, pp.356-7 no.374.

²⁶⁶ Bearman, 1994, p.59 no.6. The late thirteenth-century claim that Salisbury had held the advowson of West Alvington church ‘since ancient times’ (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.79) is similarly inconclusive.

²⁶⁷ Appendix I below; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.459. The *Taxatio* notes that the valuation of Kingsteignton church includes an unnamed chapel, which can be identified as Highweek from other evidence: see below.

collegiate church.²⁶⁸ Although none of this can be taken as proving the existence of a minster at Kingsteignton in the pre-Conquest period, it certainly represents sufficient circumstantial evidence to make the possibility worth considering; and an examination of the surviving evidence for early ecclesiastical, administrative and tenorial relationships within the surrounding landscape adds considerable weight to this hypothesis.²⁶⁹

* * *

Highweek, lying to the south-west of Kingsteignton, formed part of the royal manor of Kingsteignton until Henry III granted Highweek to Theobald de Englishville with half of Teignbridge Hundred and granted Kingsteignton with the other half of the hundred to Peter Burdon.²⁷⁰ Ecclesiastically, Highweek is first named as a chapelry of Kingsteignton within the Teignton prebend in 1244; its chaplain remained subject to the vicar of Kingsteignton even after the chapelry acquired the right of sepulture in 1428, and Highweek did not become a fully independent ecclesiastical parish until 1864.²⁷¹ Although the tithe map presents us with one unanswered problem, in that a small area of Highweek parish did not form part of its tithe district in 1842, there seems to be little reason to regard Highweek as anything other than an original part of Kingsteignton manor and of Kingsteignton's medieval parish.²⁷²

Sandwiched between the parishes of Highweek and Kingsteignton lies Teigngrace, which was held by Ralph of Bruyère from sheriff Baldwin in 1086 and remained in the hands of Ralph's descendents until the fourteenth century.²⁷³ Teigngrace church is first mentioned in c.1291 but its

²⁶⁸ Gover *et al.*, 1932, p.480; Weddell, 1987, p.81.

²⁶⁹ Hoskins, 1952, map facing p.307, depicted an 'early estate' based on Kingsteignton and Bishopsteignton; despite the small scale used it appears similar to the land-unit proposed below, but he did not provide supporting evidence.

²⁷⁰ Reichel, 1897a, p.226 n3; Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, pp.311, 321-2, 394; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,10. Highweek is usually called Teignweek in medieval records, but Highweek has been used here throughout to avoid confusion.

²⁷¹ Barlow, 1996b, pp.263-4 no.290; Dunstan, 1971, pp.280-7; Youngs, 1979, pp.86-7.

²⁷² DRO Highweek tithe map (1842) [=PRO IR 30/9/208] shows Littlejoy as an outlier of Torbryan, a parish lying outside the survey area and to the south of the Ogwells. I cannot explain this feature as yet; but the Tax Return credits an unlocated half-hide of demesne in Teignbridge Hundred to Godiva, who held Torbryan in 1066 and 1086 (Reichel, 1897a, pp.230-1; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,52; p.93 note 107 above). If this half-hide included Littlejoy then it might provide a context for the parochial link with Torbryan, but more evidence is needed here.

²⁷³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,153; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.486.

relationship to the manor is unknown; although the present church lies within the main settlement focus, just across the river from Preston, no patron is named in surviving records before John Prestecote in 1410 and the site of the medieval manor house is unclear.²⁷⁴ Topographically, however, the configuration of the parish boundary between Highweek and Teigngrace, which makes a convoluted detour to incorporate Twelve Oaks within Highweek and Blatchford within Teigngrace, suggests that these parishes once constituted a single land-unit. If so, then given the situation of Teigngrace parish between those of Kingsteignton and Highweek and what has been said with regard to the status of Highweek it is probable that such a land-unit would have been associated with Kingsteignton, both tenurially as part of the royal manor and ecclesiastically as part of the original parish of a church associated with that manor. In addition, a couple of fields at Ventiford in the north of Teigngrace parish, or at least the tithes from them, were recorded as belonging to the tithe district of Highweek in 1838.²⁷⁵ It would be wrong to place too much weight on so small a detail, but when combined with the topographical evidence it further suggests that Teigngrace formed part of Kingsteignton's original parish.

Yet when we examine the parishes to the east and north of Kingsteignton's original parish it becomes apparent that this was itself a component of a larger land-unit, and one whose ecclesiastical centre did not necessarily lie at Kingsteignton. To the east of Kingsteignton is Bishopsteignton, which formed part of the episcopal fief in both 1066 and 1086 and was assessed for eighteen hides, a very large figure explicable by the probability that the Domesday entry included Chudleigh and West Teignmouth.²⁷⁶ As Bishopsteignton was not included in the *Inventory* of lands held, regained or acquired by Exeter minster during Leofric's episcopacy, the implication is that it was in the hands of the bishops of Devon and Cornwall before Leofric transferred the see from Crediton to Exeter in 1050.²⁷⁷ However, what is of particular note is

²⁷⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.213; *idem*, 1889, p.459; *idem*, 1899, p.1405; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.793-4.

²⁷⁵ Highweek tithe map (as note 272 above); DRO Teigngrace tithe map (1838) [=PRO IR 30/9/401].

²⁷⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,4; reasons for the inclusion of Chudleigh and West Teignmouth are given below.

²⁷⁷ *Inventory*, §§1-6; see also pp.75, 82 above.

that both Kingsteignton and Bishopsteignton are called simply 'Teignton' - i.e. 'the *tūn* on the [river] Teign' - in Domesday and other post-Conquest records, and this sharing of a place-name by adjacent holdings almost certainly indicates that they once constituted a single land-unit.²⁷⁸ An initial association of Bishopsteignton with Kingsteignton rather than with lands in the Exe valley also makes topographical sense, because the north-eastern boundary of Bishopsteignton parish follows the watershed between the Teign and Exe estuaries; in addition, the parish boundaries between Bishopsteignton and Dawlish, and between East and West Teignmouth, preserve a boundary that existed by 1044.²⁷⁹ The reasons for Kingsteignton and Bishopsteignton being in different hundreds - those of Teignbridge and Exminster respectively - by the late eleventh century will be considered at a later stage, but it is likely that the hundredal organisation detectable in the Domesday records post-dates the division of this putative 'Teignton land-unit'.

The ecclesiastical history of Bishopsteignton is less straightforward, however. The church retains a considerable amount of Norman fabric including a richly carved western doorway and an unusual, possibly earlier, tympanum, representing a considerable investment of wealth in or before the mid-twelfth century.²⁸⁰ Its advowson was already in the bishop's hands by the time this is first mentioned in surviving records and it counted West Teignmouth among its dependent chapels by the early fourteenth century if not before.²⁸¹ Taken together, the evidence suggests the existence of an important church at Bishopsteignton from at least the mid-twelfth century. Yet neither Bishopsteignton church nor the West Teignmouth chapel is recorded in the *Taxatio* of c.1291, although both of the corresponding manors are included among the bishop's

²⁷⁸ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.478-9, 487; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,10; 2,4; Thorn, 1991, pp.36 & n2, 41 n28.

²⁷⁹ S 1003; Hooke, 1994, pp.203-7; see also p.80 note 63 above.

²⁸⁰ Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.40, 185; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.149-50; Jordan, 1910, p.507 (with illustrations).

²⁸¹ The king acted as patron of Bishopsteignton *sede vacante* in 1258 and the new bishop, Walter Bronescombe, is subsequently recorded as its patron: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.114-5, 491. An erased entry in Bronescombe's register shows that he intended to use St James' chapel at West Teignmouth for ordinations in 1275 (Robinson, 1999, pp.85-6 no.1090 n130), which suggests that it was already in episcopal hands; it is explicitly referred to as a chapel of Bishopsteignton in 1329 (Hingeston-Randolph, 1894, pp.466-7) and did not become a separate ecclesiastical parish until 1842 (Youngs, 1979, p.77). On the other dependent chapels, referred to in 1318, see below.

temporal possessions.²⁸² Indeed, the fact that the church was not assessed for the clerical tenth 'on account of its poverty' was cited by bishop Grandisson (1327-69) in c.1328 when he appealed to the pope to allow its appropriation, after the death or resignation of the incumbent, to the *mense* of the bishop.²⁸³ The episcopal revenues had suffered considerably whilst in royal administration following the deaths of bishops Stapeldon in 1326 and Berkeley in 1327, and the appropriation of Bishopsteignton church to the bishop's *mense* was apparently intended to provide Grandisson's successors with a source of revenue that would not fall into the king's hands when the see was vacant.²⁸⁴ Clearly Grandisson considered the church to be worth the effort of securing its appropriation, and the statement that it was too poor to be taxed was probably a formulaic ploy as part of his efforts to achieve this. It may be that the omission of the church from the *Taxatio* was due originally to a clerical error, a deliberate concealment or an exemption; but poverty was almost certainly not the real reason, particularly as the Devon section of the *Taxatio* usually includes even those benefices falling below the tax threshold.²⁸⁵ In any event, the appropriation had been effected by 1349 when Grandisson ordained a new vicarage for Bishopsteignton, the details of which certainly suggest that the church was not then impoverished with respect to its spiritual revenues.²⁸⁶

The ordination of 1349 also mentions chaplains who apparently assisted the vicar in the parochial cure of Bishopsteignton and its chapel at West Teignmouth.²⁸⁷ No other chapel is

²⁸² Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.473. The inclusion of *Teington* among the spiritual possessions of the dignities of Exeter cathedral in one of the manuscripts used by Astle *et al*, 1802, p.145, appears to be an error for Paignton.

²⁸³ Hingeston-Randolph, 1894, pp.103-4 no.15. The incumbent, who was the last rector of Bishopsteignton, had been collated in 1325 (*idem*, 1892, p.191) and was still resident in 1336 (*idem*, 1897, pp.834-5).

²⁸⁴ As Grandisson stated in his letter. The temporalities were restored to him in March 1328 but the crops had already been sown, so that year's harvest also belonged to the king: Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, pp.ix-x.

²⁸⁵ See Denton, 1993, pp.237-8 for a discussion of the types of exemptions and other reasons that might lead to a benefice being omitted from the *Taxatio*, although none of these seem obviously applicable to the circumstances relating to Bishopsteignton church.

²⁸⁶ Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, pp.1371-2. Although no values are given, the list of the various tithes and other dues of the church is more extensive than is usually found in contemporary ordinations of Devon vicarages. There had been previous collations of vicars to Bishopsteignton, in 1270 and 1318 (Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.115; *idem*, 1892, p.191), but these apparently represent temporary arrangements for non-resident rectors and are distinct from the newly ordained vicarage that followed the appropriation (*cf.* Addleshaw, 1953, p.3).

²⁸⁷ *Vicarius, vero, dicte ecclesie qui pro tempore fuerit, per se, et suos capellanos, curam parochialem dicte ecclesie et capelle de Teyngmuthe, ab eadem dependentis, incumbentem exerceat...* : Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, p.1372.

mentioned, nor is it clear how many chaplains were present or where they were normally resident. However, Bishopsteignton certainly had more than one chapel in 1318, and in 1329 the bishop addressed a letter to 'each and every chaplain, in the parochial church of *Teyngtone* as in its dependent chapels'.²⁸⁸ This does not sound as though each chaplain simply served one of these other chapels; and, when taken together with their apparently collective participation in the cure for the whole parish, it suggests that the chaplains represent the vestiges of a former community of priests who served Bishopsteignton church. If so, then even these traces soon disappeared: a further revision of the vicarage arrangements in 1361 records only a single chaplain who served the West Teignmouth chapel and, although we hear of a chapel of St John associated with the bishop's palace at Radway in Bishopsteignton, no other chaplains are mentioned.²⁸⁹ The ecclesiastical history of Bishopsteignton remains ambiguous, but it points towards the existence of a wealthy and possibly collegiate church here by the mid-twelfth century.

It is apparent from these discussions that Bishopsteignton church had an original parish that included the episcopal manors of Bishopsteignton and West Teignmouth, which strongly suggests that they were once part of the same estate and that the details of West Teignmouth were indeed subsumed within the Domesday entry for the Bishopsteignton holding.²⁹⁰ This also

²⁸⁸ Hingeston-Randolph, 1894, pp.466-7; in 1318 a priest was collated as vicar of *Teyngtone Episcopi* 'with all the chapels adjacent to the same': *idem*, 1892, p.191. In addition to the chapel of St James at West Teignmouth, a chapel of St John the Apostle at Radway is noted in 1361 (*idem*, 1899, pp.1230-1) and one of St John the Baptist close to Bishopsteignton church in 1449 (Dunstan, 1968, p.38), while later evidence records chapels at Venn and Luton in Bishopsteignton and at Magdalene Hill in West Teignmouth: e.g. Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.148, 150.

²⁸⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, pp.1230-1. Radway was the site of the bishops' residence built by Grandisson, and the name apparently became interchangeable with that of Bishopsteignton itself. Grandisson's will of 1368 refers to his 'appropriation of the church of Radway in the manor of Bishopsteignton' (*idem*, 1894, p.103 n2; *idem*, 1899, p.1516), while in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 the spiritualities of the church are listed under Radway, although the temporal holdings of Bishopsteignton and Radway are listed separately (Caley, 1814, pp.289-90).

²⁹⁰ As noted above, the parishes of Bishopsteignton and West Teignmouth are separated from those of Dawlish and East Teignmouth (which constituted a single estate in 1044: S 1003; Hooke, 1994, pp.203-7) by a watershed and the small river Tame, which runs south from the high ground into the Teign estuary. East Teignmouth is referred to as Holcombe in the earliest records, and in this instance the obvious relationship between the place-names East and West Teignmouth seems to represent a post-Conquest development (see Gover *et al.*, 1932, pp.491n2, 493, 503) and does not imply that they had previously constituted a single land-unit. Higher Holcombe and Holcombe Down lie in East Teignmouth parish, but the 'hollow *cumb*' itself continues into Dawlish parish, where the modern settlement of Holcombe (formerly Lower Holcombe) lies. Although *tenge mudan* occurs in a purely topographical sense in the boundary clause of S 1003, the earliest recorded use of 'Teignmouth' as a settlement name is a reference to *ecclesiam de Teingemudam* in 1148 (Barlow, 1996a, pp.31-2 no.32), which clearly refers to the church at East Teignmouth. The

implies that West Teignmouth, like Bishopsteignton, had formed part of the 'Teignton land-unit'. What, then, are we to make of Chudleigh, which was the only other manor held by the bishop (rather than by the chapter) of Exeter in Exminster Hundred in the post-Conquest period and which also lay to the west of the watershed between the Teign and Exe valleys?

Chudleigh, like West Teignmouth, is not mentioned in Domesday, which implies either that it was omitted or that its details were subsumed in the entry for another holding; but it was in episcopal hands by the time that we first hear of it in 1146 and it was an important episcopal residence by the early thirteenth century.²⁹¹ On the basis of this evidence, and also because it would help to explain Bishopsteignton's large hidage assessment in Domesday, Reichel's suggestion that Chudleigh was treated as part of the Bishopsteignton holding in 1086 seems both reasonable and highly probable.²⁹² In other words, Chudleigh was apparently regarded or administered as a sub-holding of Bishopsteignton in the late eleventh century. Unfortunately, we cannot tell if this situation was paralleled in the ecclesiastical arrangements, although we know that the bishops of Exeter had granted the revenues from Chudleigh church to the precentors of the cathedral before 1225 (but retained the advowson until the church was appropriated to the precentorship in 1282), and that Chudleigh, Bishopsteignton and West Teignmouth constituted one of the bishop's peculiar jurisdictions in the early fourteenth century.²⁹³ Nevertheless, it is clear that the manors and churches of both Bishopsteignton and Chudleigh were already in episcopal hands by the time that each is first mentioned in a surviving record, and the available evidence points towards them having been associated with each other from an early date. As was also the case with regard to West Teignmouth, the implication of this necessarily tentative

establishment of separate markets on either side of the river Tame during the thirteenth century (on which see Lake, 1874, pp.375-7) was probably a major factor in the development of the names East and West Teignmouth.

²⁹¹ Hull, 1987, p.8 no.8; see also *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.89; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.325, 473; Holtzmann, 1935-6, ii, pp.249-51 no.78; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.263; Barlow, 1996a, pp.86-8 no.98; *idem*, 1996b, p.193 no.211.

²⁹² Reichel, 1915, pp.202, 220. Thorn, 1991, p.34 n.4, noted that Chudleigh might have been part of Ide instead, but Ide's assessment of only 2 hides and its association with the chapter, not the bishop, of Exeter render this unlikely.

²⁹³ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.365-6, 465; *idem*, 1894, p.469; Barlow, 1996b, pp.224-5 no.248; see also (*re* vicars) Seymour, 1977, pp.118-9 nos.49, 50, 52-3, 61-3. In addition, Chudleigh church was the subject of a charter (now lost, details unknown) of bishop John (1186-1191) in favour of the Exeter chapter: Barlow, 1996b, p.143 no.154.

conclusion is that Chudleigh too had formed part of, or was at least closely associated with, the 'Teignton land-unit'. What may provide significant support for this suggestion is that the eastern boundary of Chudleigh parish, like that of Bishopsteignton, follows the watershed between the Teign and Exe valleys while its western boundary follows the river Teign itself and adjoins that of Kingsteignton parish, so that topographically at least it seems reasonable to regard Chudleigh as having formed part of the same land-unit. What may be equally significant, however, is that there is no compelling tenorial or ecclesiastical evidence to suggest that Chudleigh had formed part of any other similar land-unit or an original parish associated therewith.²⁹⁴

Absolute proof is, of course, impossible on the basis of such sparse source materials; but if, as seems likely, Chudleigh did indeed form part of the 'Teignton land-unit', then for the parish of Ideford, occupying the head of a tributary valley of the Teign and enclosed by the three parishes of Chudleigh, Bishopsteignton and Kingsteignton, the case for its inclusion within the same land-unit has to be based mainly upon this topographical relationship. Indeed, there is little other evidence to work with. The Domesday holding of Ideford is the only one located within Ideford parish, while structural remains show that the present church developed from a small Norman predecessor; this appears to be parochially independent by the time we first hear of it in the *Taxatio* of c.1291.²⁹⁵ By then the manor was held in moieties; and although the first recorded patron of the church (in 1309) is not mentioned in the manorial descents, subsequent references suggest that the advowson was then connected with the major holding within Ideford.²⁹⁶ Taken together, the evidence suggests that Ideford church originated as a manorial chapel founded - or perhaps simply rebuilt - by the Domesday holder or his immediate successors and which before the late thirteenth century had gained parochial independence from its mother church.

²⁹⁴ Some of this negative evidence is discussed briefly below, but until such time as the arguments can be presented in full the assessment offered here should be regarded as provisional.

²⁹⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,8; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.499; see also Appendix I below (for the *Taxatio* value).

²⁹⁶ Hingston-Randolph, 1892, p.223; *idem*, 1899, pp.1311, 1338-9; Reichel, 1897a, p.240; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.339, 378, 390, 491; Rowe, 1914, pp.445-7 no.695.

But where was Ideford's mother church? The preceding discussions have provided strong indications that the parishes of Kingsteignton, Highweek, Teigngrace, Bishopsteignton, West Teignmouth, Chudleigh and Ideford constituted a large and geographically coherent 'Teignton land-unit' that pre-dated the local pattern of hundreds recorded in Domesday. Despite the lack of explicit evidence for any pre-Conquest churches within it, the context of late Anglo-Saxon England means that it is almost certain that such a land-unit would have been served by several churches with various origins and degrees of parochial independence. That this land-unit once represented a single original parish is suggested by the later medieval evidence relating to the churches associated with the two holdings called 'Teignton' in Domesday, whose combined medieval parishes account for at least four of the seven later parishes discussed above. However, although Kingsteignton and Bishopsteignton are also the only churches that show signs of having developed from former minsters, the evidence so far considered is equivocal as to which of them might represent the original mother church of the 'Teignton land-unit'. On the one hand, for example, Kingsteignton was a royal hundredal manor in the late eleventh century and the analogues provided by Hase's research in Hampshire suggest that a church associated with such a manor often originated as an 'old minster' of early foundation.²⁹⁷ On the other hand, Bishopsteignton was an episcopal holding by the mid-eleventh century and many old minsters in the West Midlands and elsewhere also ended up in the hands of the local bishop.²⁹⁸

However, a further clue is provided by two otherwise puzzling references to church-scot noted amongst the revenues of the two episcopal manors of Bishopsteignton and Chudleigh in an early fourteenth-century rent-roll.²⁹⁹ Church-scot was originally a type of ecclesiastical hearth tax paid in grain to the local old minster, although in this instance the payments had become a

²⁹⁷ For summaries of the research by Hase and that by Hall in Dorset, which broadly supports Hase's findings, see chapter 1 above (at pp.8-9, 22-3). Note that the evidence for a priestly community implied by the place-name Preston, discussed above, need not relate specifically to Kingsteignton because the community serving a minster could have been provided for with land located anywhere within its original parish.

²⁹⁸ Dr Steven Bassett, *pers. comm.*, March 2000.

²⁹⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, pp.23-8. The references are to *chursectum*, here paid in poultry rather than grain. The entry for West Teignmouth, included in the same rent-roll, contains no such reference to church-scot.

manorial rather than a spiritual revenue.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the key issue is that the church-scot from both manors continued to be paid and to the bishop; whether or not he received it as a spiritual revenue is of less importance under these circumstances. If Bishopsteignton and Chudleigh once lay within the same original parish, as has been argued above, then it is reasonable to assume that the original recipient of their church-scot had been the old minster serving that parish. Furthermore, the continued payment of this church-scot to the bishop suggests that the old minster had been or, more probably, remained in his possession. There is no other indication that Chudleigh had been a church with a possible entitlement to receive church-scot, which implies that the old minster in question was Bishopsteignton church.

This argument cannot be regarded as conclusive; in particular, it should be noted that references to church-scot in any form are extremely rare in documents relating to Devon, so it is far from clear how these payments operated in a local context. Nevertheless, it seems probable that Bishopsteignton originated as an 'old minster' - if only in the sense implied by the late Anglo-Saxon law-codes - and that it was once the mother church for the whole area comprising the seven later parishes described above.³⁰¹ We would be in a better position to say more about when the minster was founded if we had a better idea of the stages by which it began to lose control of parts of its original parish. The Scandinavian raid along the Teign estuary in 1001 was perhaps a contributory factor here, because Bishopsteignton church is less than half a mile from the shore and is unlikely to have remained unscathed, but this may only have triggered or accelerated the process of fragmentation.³⁰² A more significant stage was probably the division of

³⁰⁰ On church-scot, see chapter 1.2 above (at pp.14-15). Blair, 1985, p.116 n37, notes that the survival of church-scot as a secular due is a less reliable indicator of former minster status than its continued payment to a church. That the church-scot continued to be exacted at all is significant, however, and demonstrates that vestiges of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical arrangements could persist for nearly two hundred and fifty years after the Conquest.

³⁰¹ For the term 'old minster', see chapter 1.2 above (at p.14 note 48). Although a religious house that acquired an old minster might annex its right to church-scot, it is otherwise unlikely that a 'superior' church founded in or after the tenth century would have this right: see e.g. Stenton, 1971, p.154; Blair, 1985, pp.118-9; *idem*, 1988, p.12 n81.

³⁰² ASC A s.a. 1001. The Scandinavian host is described as burning *Tegntun* and many other *hama* before transferring their operations to the Exe estuary (see p.144 above), and most commentators have equated *Tegntun* with Kingsteignton (e.g. Gover *et al.*, 1932, p.478; Garmonsway, 1972, p.132); but Bately, 1986, p.123, quite correctly identifies it as simply 'Teignton'.

the 'Teignton land-unit' between the hundreds of Exminster and Teignbridge and the loss of parochial control over the church at Kingsteignton, which now seems most likely to have originated either as a parochial chapel or as a royal manorial chapel within Bishopsteignton's original parish. However, we do not have sufficient evidence to pursue these lines of enquiry at present and further speculation, although tempting, must be postponed until we have a clearer picture of the early medieval administrative and ecclesiastical geography of the surrounding area.

* * *

In order both to verify the extent of Bishopsteignton's original parish as proposed above and to attempt a better understanding of the local hundredal geography, I intend to make a brief survey of the area surrounding the 'Teignton land-unit' before focussing in slightly more detail - and for reasons that will become apparent - on the parishes around Stokeinteignhead.³⁰³ Although the lands and parishes to the east of the watershed between the Teign and Exe valleys do not, by definition, form part of the area being considered in the present case study, for the sake of completeness it is useful to commence our survey here. It seems highly likely that the five later parishes of Ashcombe, Dawlish, East Teignmouth, Kenton and Mamhead had once comprised or formed part of a single land-unit, many of the components of which were in royal hands when Edward the Confessor granted Dawlish to the future bishop Leofric in 1042, from whom it later passed to the Exeter chapter.³⁰⁴ The churches of both Dawlish and Kenton appear to have developed from pre-Conquest churches of 'superior' status, but I have not yet been able to determine if one of them was originally an independent minster or whether both in fact looked

³⁰³ Once again, the limitations of space mean that the outline given in the following sub-section represents a provisional summary of my research. For similar reasons the references and apparatus have been kept to a minimum, although it is my intention to present these arguments and the supporting evidence in full at a later date.

³⁰⁴ S 1003; *Inventory*, §§4-5; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.146, 154, 159, 161n, 164-5; Davidson, 1881, *passim*; Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.152, 290; idem, 1892, p.233; Round, 1899, pp.536-7 nos.1455-6; Maxwell-Lyte, 1912, pp.456-89 no.604; Rowe, 1914, pp.150-1 no.256; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,26; 2,5; 16,63; 34,10-11; 34,13; 52,48-9; Robinson, 1995, pp.62-3 no.210 (whose identification of *Hascumb'* with Hacombe rather than Ashcombe is incorrect); Bates, 1998, pp.463-5 no.138; see also note 290 above.

to Exminster as their mother church.³⁰⁵ To the north of Chudleigh, Kenn was almost certainly part of Exminster's original parish while Trusham and Ashton, although lying mainly in Exminster Hundred, probably originated as a single land-unit that was associated with a mother church further up the Teign valley.³⁰⁶

Within Hennock parish, which lies opposite Chudleigh on the west bank of the Teign, Domesday holdings can be located at Hennock and Chudleigh Knighton together with a sub-holding of Bovey Tracey at Warmhill, all of which then lay in Teignbridge Hundred.³⁰⁷ Hennock church seems to have been held by the lord of the eponymous manor when it was granted to Torre abbey in the early thirteenth century; but some ambiguous evidence relating to an incumbent vicar raises the possibility that the church was previously in the hands of another ecclesiastical institution, and it is perhaps unsafe to assume that Hennock church originated as a manorial chapel.³⁰⁸ Be that as it may, it is notable that although the bishop of Exeter or his tenants held Chudleigh Knighton from at least the late pre-Conquest period onwards it constituted a chapelry of Hennock rather than part of the adjacent parish of Chudleigh.³⁰⁹ This strongly suggests that Hennock's parish, or that of its mother church, was firmly established before the Chudleigh Knighton holding came into episcopal hands, and it also emphasises the

³⁰⁵ Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, pp.80-1; *idem*, 1889, pp.323, 465; *idem*, 1892, pp.132-3; *idem*, 1901, pp.522-3, 567; *idem*, 1906, p.635; Poole, 1907, p.81 no.941; Dunstan, 1963, pp.102, 175; Barlow, 1996a, pp.31-2 no.32; *idem*, 1996b, pp.263-4 no.290; see also pp.149-51 & notes 259, 261-3 above.

³⁰⁶ It is not possible to summarise here the largely topographic and toponymic evidence and arguments on which these conclusions are based. For the main (but limited) documentary evidence and references, see (for Kenn) Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.146, 453; Maxwell-Lyte, 1912, pp.23-30 nos.31-2; Reichel *et al.*, 1939, pp.230-1 no.1169; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,58; Bearman, 1994, pp.182-3 no.8; Barlow, 1996b, pp.275-6 no.308 notes; see also (for Ashton and Trusham) Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.67, 188, 453-5, 479; Reichel, 1915, pp.232-3; *idem et al.*, 1939, pp.180-2 no.1084, 296 no.1275; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 6,5-6; 16,59; 44,1; Orme, 1996, pp.127-8.

³⁰⁷ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,20; 3,8 note; 16,155.

³⁰⁸ Nicholas, 1857, p.75; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.459; Reichel, 1897a, p.239; *idem*, 1906, p.355; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.339, 389; *idem*, 1908, pp.293-5 no.527; *idem*, 1920, pp.396-7; Sanders, 1960, p.123; Seymour, 1977, pp.116, 118-20 (nos.44-7, 50, 52-3, 60-4), 125 & plate facing p.121; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,155; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.479; Barlow, 1996b, pp.202-3 no.221. Possible contemporary parallels to Hennock's early vicarage are found in the diocese of Lincoln (see Smith, 2000, pp.5-6 no.3, 66-7 no.144, 83 no.178), and I am grateful to Professor Robert Swanson for discussing this matter with me (*pers. comm.*, February 2000).

³⁰⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1897, p.664; *idem*, 1901, p.459; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.339; Holzmann, 1935-6, pp.249-51 no.78; Youngs, 1979, p.80; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,20 (although I have found no evidence to support their suggestion that South Knighton, in the southern part of Ilsington parish, was 'no doubt included' in the bishop's holding of Chudleigh Knighton; it seems more probable that South Knighton was named in relation to Knighton Beaumont and formed part of one of the 'Ingsdon' holdings in Ilsington, noted below); Hull, 1987, p.8 no.8.

significance of this stretch of the river Teign as an ecclesiastical as well as a hundredal boundary by the late eleventh century.

What may be equally significant, however, is that Hennock parish and its outliers at Kelly and Slade Cross interlock with Bovey Tracey parish in a way that suggests that they once constituted a single entity.³¹⁰ The Domesday holding of Bovey Tracey - to which nine named 'booklands' lying mostly within Bovey Tracey parish but including Warmhill in Hennock and probably Scobitor in Widecombe-in-the-Moor had been added by 1086 - had passed to the de Tracy family before c.1188, when Oliver de Tracy granted Bovey Tracey church as a family prebend in Wells cathedral.³¹¹ This prebend was short-lived, however, because before 1227 the church was re-granted, with the consent of the bishop of Bath and Wells, to the hospital of St John at Bridgewater in Somerset by its founder William Briwere, who was also the founder of Torre abbey and the middle lord of Hennock.³¹² Of particular interest, however, is a later disagreement over tithes between Henry de Tracy and Bridgewater's vicar at Bovey Tracey, because it seems highly probable that the 'perpetual chaplain' around whom the tithe dispute centred represents a former priest and that, at some point prior to its acquisition by Bridgewater, Bovey Tracey church had been served by two priests.³¹³ The possibility that Bovey Tracey originated as a church of 'superior' status receives indirect support from its valuation of nearly £15 in the *Taxatio*, which places it among the wealthiest and presumably most important of the churches in its immediate vicinity.³¹⁴ We cannot push this combination of evidence and potential coincidence too far, but it may be that at Bovey Tracey we have the traces of a church originally established

³¹⁰ DRO Bovey Tracey tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/50], Hennock tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/204]; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, iii, p.495n.

³¹¹ Reichel, 1912a, pp.3-4 no.1, 48 no.84, 175 no.356; Maxwell-Lyte, 1916, pp.59-60 no.178; idem, 1920, p.264; Seymour, 1977, pp.127-8; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 3,8; Ramsey, 1995, p.liii; Barlow, 1996b, pp.161-2 no.179.

³¹² Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, pp.44-5; Colvin, 1951, p.153 n4; Ramsey, 1995, pp.140-1 no.185; Barlow, 1996b, p.214 no.234; see also references given in note 308 above.

³¹³ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.117-8 (on which see now Robinson, 1999, pp.47-8 no.845; for possible analogues, see Blair, 1985, pp.139-40). No surviving feature of Bovey Tracey church need be dated earlier than the fifteenth century (Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.191), but there is no structural evidence to support the idea that it ever had a separate chantry or similar, nor any documentary evidence indicative of a guild or burghal chapel.

³¹⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.459; Appendix I below.

to serve an area that included Bovey Tracey, Hennock and Chudleigh Knighton. To go further also lies beyond the scope of the present case study; but there is certainly nothing to suggest that Hennock or Bovey Tracey was associated with Bishopsteignton's original parish.

Most of the Domesday holdings in Ilsington parish, which lies to the south of Bovey Tracey and only partly within the present survey area, were regarded as parts of Teignbridge Hundred in 1086; but the holdings at Sigford and Bagtor in the west of the parish - to which Staplehill was added later - then constituted an outlying part of Wonford Hundred (see Fig. 2.5 inset).³¹⁵ This was one of three Wonford outliers that will be considered in more detail shortly, and it may have originated as a detached area of moorland grazing dependent upon one of the other Wonford holdings. With regard to Ilsington church, however, we know that it too was a wealthy one in c.1291 and that Plympton priory had acquired it in or before the early thirteenth century, but its origins are obscure.³¹⁶ Also uncertain is whether parts of Ilsington parish lay within 'Peadingtun's boundary', a set of early eleventh-century bounds for a large territory in north-eastern Dartmoor that was probably closely associated with the episcopal manor of Ashburton.³¹⁷ However, we are on firmer ground with regard to the adjacent parish of Bickington, which certainly constituted a sub-holding of Ashburton by 1066 and lay within Ashburton's medieval parish, so that here at least it is apparent that its affiliations were with lands outside the present survey area.³¹⁸

A tributary of the river Lemon forms the eastern boundary both of Bickington parish and of 'Peadingtun's boundary', and is described by the latter as *woggawill lacu*. This stream also forms the western boundary of the two Ogwell parishes, whose northern and southern boundaries

³¹⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 32,6-7; 35,23; 43,5; 48,7; 48,9 [it may be correct to see the Domesday form *Stapelie* as corrupt and to locate this holding at Staplehill, but as a *Stapeldone* apparently lying further to the west occurs in 1342 (Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, pp.1334-5) it might be better to regard *Stapelie* as a lost 'Stapeley' in Ilsington parish]; Thorn, 1991, pp.29-30. Note that Whale, 1898, p.242, gives Knighton Beaumont as a name for the part of Ingsdon immediately to the north of South Knighton (*cf.* note 309 above, *contra* Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,20).

³¹⁶ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.459; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.390; Reichel, 1897a, p.240; *idem*, 1897c, pp.484-5; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 32,6-7; Bearman, 1994, pp.167-8 no.23; Ransom, 1999, pp.107-9.

³¹⁷ S 1547; Hooke, 1994, pp.217-24; see also pp.93-4 above.

³¹⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,19; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, iii, p.494n; Caley, 1814, pp.294, 363; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.465; Holtzmann, 1935-6, pp.249-51 no.78; Dunstan, 1966, pp.33-4; Youngs, 1979, pp.76-7, 79; Hull, 1987, p.8 no.8; Barlow, 1996b, pp.136-7 no.148.

represent eastern continuations of other landscape features noted in 'Peadingtun's boundary', while a spring in the south-eastern corner of East Ogwell parish is referred to as *woggan wylle* in a charter of 956.³¹⁹ Furthermore, the two Ogwell parishes formed a detached part of the archdeaconry of Exeter by c.1291 (and probably by the early 1130s) and the five Domesday holdings within them - four of which were called 'Ogwell' - constituted the second of the outliers of Wonford Hundred in 1086.³²⁰ Taking this evidence together with the obvious relationship inherent in the place-names, it seems certain that the Ogwells formed a discrete administrative, and perhaps ecclesiastical, land-unit of pre-Conquest origin, and probably one that had existed since at least the mid-tenth century.

West Ogwell church can be associated with the half-hide held by Ælfstan before the Conquest and by Godwin of Chittlehampton in 1086; the manorial descent was to the Boyvile family, who were also the patrons of the church when it is first mentioned in 1284.³²¹ The church was sited close to the manor house, had a valuation that was less than one-sixth that of East Ogwell church in c.1291, had fewer than ten parishioners in the early fifteenth century and seems always to have been the lesser of the two churches.³²² There can be little doubt, therefore, that West Ogwell church originated as a manorial chapel, and one that probably gained its parochial independence at the expense of East Ogwell church.

Two of the Domesday holdings in East Ogwell parish, along with Bagtor in Ilsington and two holdings in Stokeinteignhead (including Stokeinteignhead itself), were held by Ordric in 1066 and passed to Nicholas de la Pole after the Conquest, who by 1086 had also acquired Staplehill in Ilsington.³²³ Together, they constituted a group of which Stokeinteignhead was regarded as the *caput* in later medieval records; yet this group included none of the other estates held by Nicholas

³¹⁹ S 601; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.61-4, Hooke, 1994, pp.152-5. The charter relates to a land-unit comprising much of Ipplepen, Dainton and Abbotskerswell, which lie immediately to the south of the present survey area.

³²⁰ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,27-8; 48,5-6; 52,14; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453; see also pp.36-7 above.

³²¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,14; Williams, 1997, p.44 n12; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.359; *idem*, 1892, p.269.

³²² Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.473; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.40, 901-2.

³²³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,3-7; see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.313, 386, 484; Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, p.1478; Reichel, 1912a, pp.72 no.138, 387-9 no.741; *idem*, 1912b, pp.319-18; *idem et al*, 1939, pp.425-6 no.1502.

de la Pole - not even Ideford, which was also held by Ordric in 1066 and shared the same middle lord in c.1285 - and the fact that it comprised only holdings in the outliers of Wonford Hundred is a point to which we will return shortly.³²⁴ The other two Domesday holdings in East Oghwell parish had passed from different pre-Conquest holders, Ælfric and Edric, to Ralph of Pomeroy's subtenant William of Poitou by 1086, from whom they descended to the Peytevin family.³²⁵

Three of these holdings appear to have shared rights in East Oghwell church until Oliver le Peytevin quit-claimed the advowson of 'Oghwell' to William Dun in 1224, who then held the de la Pole manor of East Oghwell; his tenorial successors retained the advowson thereafter but the earliest fabric in their manor house post-dates that of the adjacent church tower, which probably pre-dates this quit-claim of the advowson.³²⁶ Earlier still, however, are the two parts of an inscribed 'pillar' stone of possibly sixth- to eighth-century date and built into the gables of the north aisle. The fragmentary Latin inscription is not explicitly Christian, nor can we be certain that the stone originally came from this site, but Pearce's suggestion that East Oghwell churchyard developed from an earlier British Christian graveyard cannot entirely be dismissed.³²⁷ The evidence with regard to East Oghwell again suggests a church of manorial origin, albeit possibly one founded when the Oghwells constituted a single land-unit, yet its potentially earlier and more complex history leaves room for doubt and the matter should be left open for the time being.

The last parish to be considered before we move on to examine those in the Stokeinteignhead area is that of Wolborough, whose western boundary at least must be of the same age as the

³²⁴ The main East Oghwell holding was held 'of the manor of Stokeinteignhead' in 1224 and the whole group were being held 'from Stokeinteignhead' in 1346 (when the entry relating to Bagtor refers to the 'honour' of Stokeinteignhead): Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.386, 388; Reichel, 1912b, p.319. For Ideford, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,8; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.339, 390; see also p.158 above.

³²⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,27; 34,28; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.316, 346, 388, 486. The Peytevin family were directly descended from William of Poitou, and continued to hold their fee in East Oghwell from the Pomeroy's.

³²⁶ Reichel, 1912a, p.72 no.138, pp.387-9 no.741; Hingston-Randolph, 1889, p.133; *idem*, 1899, pp.1296, 1375, 1478; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.313, 386, 484; Reichel *et al.*, 1939, pp.425-6 no.1502. The omission of a locative qualifier here may indicate that West Oghwell church either did not yet exist or was not yet parochially independent, but it is unwise to place much weight on this. Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.349-50, suggest that the tower is of 'the early Middle Ages', by which a twelfth- or possibly early thirteenth-century date seems to be implied: *cf. ibid.*, p.39.

³²⁷ Okasha, 1993, pp.100-2 no.12; see chapter 4.1 & fig. 4.2 below; *cf.* Thomas, 1999, pp.82, 87 & map 12.5. The stone was previously considered to be of sixth-century date, a key assumption adopted by Pearce (1978, p.108; *idem*, 1982a, p.7) when suggesting the presence of an early Christian graveyard at East Oghwell.

Ogwell land-unit. In addition, it was immediately to the north of a tenth-century land-unit that probably lay in the original parish of a former minster at St Marychurch (to the south of Stokeinteignhead, and part of Exeter minster's pre-Conquest endowment), which implies that Wolborough was a separate holding by that time.³²⁸ Although it was part of Kerswell rather than of Teignbridge or Wonford hundreds in 1086 and there are hints that its church originated as a manorial chapel, little else is known about Wolborough's history before its acquisition by Torre abbey in 1196 and its earliest affiliations cannot be determined at present.³²⁹

* * *

To the east of Wolborough, occupying the southern bank of the Teign estuary between the Aller Brook and the sea, are the four parishes of Combeinteignhead, Haccombe, St Nicholas Shaldon and Stokeinteignhead. Except in the west, where the land slopes down to the Aller Brook, a prominent ridge that runs southeast to the coast near Watcombe Head and is adopted by roads and parish boundaries along almost its entire length defines the southern boundary of this area. It encloses a landscape of valleys and sub-valleys, mostly draining northwards into the estuary, within which a major feature is the ridge separating the valleys of Haccombe and Rocombe. Yet despite the obvious topographical unity of these four parishes, the evidence with regard to medieval landholding and organisation within them is complex, and unravelling these complexities to reveal the underlying patterns can be a painstaking business.

These parishes - or at least the churches serving them - formed an outlier of the Exeter archdeaconry in c.1291, which probably indicates that they were already associated with each other for ecclesiastical purposes by the early 1130s; indeed, a reference to Stokeinteignhead church in an actum of the archdeacon of Exeter in 1162 makes it almost certain that it then lay

³²⁸ S 601 (see note 319 above); *Inventory*, §3; Holtzman, 1935-6, pp.247-9 no.77; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,12; 2,8; 7,2; 33,1; Orme, 1991b, p.8 fig.1 (*cf.* Reichel, 1939, p.338); Barlow, 1996b, 224-5 no.248. The parochial relationship between Kingskerswell and St Marychurch appears similar to that between Kingsteignton and Bishopsteignton.

³²⁹ Oliver, 1846, p.169; Caley, 1814, p.361; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.457; Seymour, 1977, pp.101-2, 104, 107-9 (nos.16-22), 111-12; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,163; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.586; Barlow, 1996b, p.193 no.211.

within his jurisdiction.³³⁰ Furthermore, two of the parish-names include a confused reference to their location, 'Teignhead' being a corruption of 'Ten Hide', and it is reasonable to assume that some or all of the holdings within these parishes had formed part of an earlier, and presumably pre-Conquest, land-unit assessed at ten hides.³³¹ Although the 'Ten Hide' suffix is recorded only for Combeinteignhead and three places in Stokeinteignhead parish, this putative land-unit has usually been assumed to relate to one or more of the outlying parts of Wonford Hundred in some way and various attempts have been made to define the precise location of the ten hides on this basis.³³² However, while the inclusion of St Nicholas Shaldon seems reasonable given the topographical and other relationships between the parishes discussed below, the hundredal affiliations of Haccombe and the western parts of Combeinteignhead in the medieval period are too ambiguous to sustain an argument based solely upon a presumed relationship with Wonford Hundred. Nevertheless, the high degree of coincidence between the administrative outliers of Wonford Hundred and the ecclesiastical outliers of the Exeter archdeaconry, together with the tenurial association of some of the holdings within them with the manor of Stokeinteignhead, implies that these relationships detectable in the post-Conquest records reflect some underlying and unifying feature of landscape organisation that originated in the pre-Conquest period. Whether this organisational feature also corresponds to the 'Ten Hide' land-unit must remain open to debate, but its existence provides a contextual background to the discussion of the four 'Teignhead' parishes that follows.

Four Domesday holdings can be located within Combeinteignhead parish, these being *Cumbe* itself, one of two holdings called *Hacome*, *Bocheland*, and one of three holdings called *Racumbe*.

³³⁰ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453; Kemp, 2001, p.30 no.40; see also chapter 2.2 above (at pp.36-7).

³³¹ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.459.

³³² The suffix is recorded for *Cumbe in Tenhide* (1227), *Stokes in Tynhide* (1279), *Teyng in Tynhide* (c.1285) and *Medenecumbe in Tynhyde* (1283): Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.312; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.459-61. Reichel (1912b, pp.310-11) suggested that the 'ten hides' comprised all the lands within the four parishes of Combeinteignhead, Haccombe, St Nicholas Shaldon and Stokeinteignhead together with the Ogwells and parts of Ilsington. By his calculations this amounted to just over 9 hides, but a calculation based on the work of Thorn & Thorn, 1985, gives a corresponding figure of 9 hides, 3 virgates and $\frac{1}{2}$ *ferling* if DB 48,9 Staplehill is excluded. The proposal put forward by Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.459-462, omits all of the Ilsington holdings; see also Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,3 note.

Combe was held by Ælfric in 1066 and by William Chevre in demesne in 1086, and the order of entries in *Exon* Domesday together with the Tax Return indicate that this holding then lay in Wonford Hundred; the main settlement focus lies to the east of the ridge between the Hacombe and Rocombe valleys, and the hundredal boundary may have followed this natural division.³³³ Combeinteignhead passed to the de Tracys in the early twelfth century but in 1227 Reginald de Blaumoster acquired it together with the advowson, after whom the Clifford family held both the manor and the advowson until 1332, when John and Clarice de Clifford granted them to their son-in-law Roger Prideaux.³³⁴ Although the evidence suggests that Combeinteignhead had a relatively wealthy church by local standards - it had the same valuation as that at Stokeinteignhead in c.1291 - and one that was held by the manorial lord by at least the early thirteenth century, it reveals little about its earlier development.³³⁵ However, the tenorial history of the other three Domesday holdings located within Combeinteignhead parish provides some valuable clues as to the origins both of the parish and, by implication, of its church.

The half-hide at *Hacome* that passed from Othere to William Chevre's subtenant Robert after the Conquest almost certainly lay at Netherton in Combeinteignhead parish rather than in Hacombe parish, which lies immediately to the south of Netherton.³³⁶ Although there are some dislocations or late entries in this section of *Exon*, the order and the Tax Return imply that this *Hacome* lay in Exminster Hundred in 1086; furthermore, the descent from Robert was to the Baron family, who still held part of Netherton in 1346, and their holding was certainly regarded as part of Exminster Hundred by 1303.³³⁷ The presence of two adjacent Domesday holdings called *Hacome*, each assessed at half a hide, strongly suggests that they once constituted a single

³³³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,28.

³³⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.66, 126; *idem*, 1909, pp.309-10; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.316; *idem*, 1903, pp.58-9; Reichel, 1912b, p.341; *idem et al*, 1939, pp.37 no.827, 219 no.1153, 272-3 no.1236; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, ch.19 notes. The name Albo Monasterio is often rendered in this translated form of *blanc moutier* or 'Blaumoster': *ibid.*, DB 48,4.

³³⁵ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453. Both churches fall within the top twenty percent - in terms of spiritual revenues - of those churches recorded within the Exeter hinterland survey area in c.1291: see Appendix I below.

³³⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,10. The other *Hacome* (DB 16,152) seems to account for the entire later parish.

³³⁷ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.346, 388; *idem*, 1923, p.792; Reichel, 1915, pp.208, 231; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB ch.19 notes; Thorn, 1991, p.33 n9.

land-unit even though they lay in different hundreds in 1086 and in different parishes by at least the late thirteenth century. It is also notable that although Haccombe parish encompasses the head of the valley from which both Domesday holdings were named it also included detached areas within Netherton, which suggests that the parish boundary has fossilised the division of a landscape comprising established groups of enclosed fields, while the local topography suggests that Netherton, 'the lower *tūn*', was coined in relation to the southern *Hacome* rather than to Robert's other Domesday holding at Buckland. Although much of this evidence is circumstantial, when taken together it suggests that the hundredal boundary here post-dates the tenurial fragmentation of the putative *Hacome* land-unit.

The third Domesday holding in Combeinteignhead parish was *Bochelond* (now Buckland Barton), held by Alric in 1066; like Netherton, it passed to William Chevre's subtenant Robert and the Baron family still held it in the mid-fourteenth century, by which time it formed a part of Haytor Hundred.³³⁸ Its hundredal affiliation in 1086 is unclear, however. In *Exon*, the Buckland entry occurs where one would expect to find entries relating to Teignbridge Hundred, although two entries previously there is a misplaced entry for a holding in Wonford Hundred.³³⁹ The possibility that Buckland is also a misplaced Wonford entry cannot be dismissed; but the process by which Haytor Hundred was formed in the twelfth century - through merging the earlier Kerswell Hundred with parts of Teignbridge Hundred - makes it more probable that Buckland had lain in Teignbridge Hundred.³⁴⁰ In any event, Robert's holdings at Netherton and Buckland, although adjacent, were almost certainly in different hundreds in 1086.

The holding at *Racumbe* was held by Edric before the Conquest, but like the main Combeinteignhead holding it was held by William Chevre in demesne in 1086, when it lay in

³³⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,41; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.317, 392, 492; Reichel, 1908, pp.123-4; *idem*, 1915, p.231; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.459. By the nineteenth century, however, Buckland was part of Wonford Hundred.

³³⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, ch.19 notes & appendix 'The Domesday hundreds'. The misplaced entry (DB 19,38) relates to Whipton in Heavitree, which was certainly part of Wonford Hundred in the late eleventh century.

³⁴⁰ Thorn, 1991, pp.40-1 & n18; but *cf.* p.33 n.9, where he accepts that Buckland may have lain in Teignbridge Hundred in 1086 but chooses to locate it in Kerswell Hundred for mapping purposes.

Wonford Hundred.³⁴¹ The identity of this 'Rocombe' has not yet been properly established, mainly because it was not apparently mentioned in later medieval records. However, as the other two 'Rocombes' recorded in Domesday can be identified as Higher and Lower Rocombe, both in Stokeinteignhead parish and discussed below, it seems reasonable to suggest that the present 'Rocombe' is to be identified with the Middle Rocombe recorded as an outlier of Combeinteignhead parish in the tithe survey; and this in turn provides us with an important clue as to the origins of the parish of Combeinteignhead. Furthermore, the risk of a circular argument here can be avoided because Chevre's 'Rocombe' does in fact appear in fourteenth-century sources, and was then effectively part of Combeinteignhead manor. An 'aid' collected in 1303 shows that Reginald de Clifford held *Comb Blamoster in Tynhide* as one-eighth of a fee and *Rocombe Blaumoster* as one fee, neither of which can refer to the *Rocumb* held by Simon de Montacute in the same source and which corresponds to Lower Rocombe, although this was also called 'Rocombe Blaumoster' on occasion.³⁴² More explicitly, and in a source where entries corresponding to Lower Rocombe and Higher Rocombe also occur, the eighth part of a knight's fee in *Comb Tynhid* and *Rocom Blamoster*, noted as *ut parcella de Comb Intynhid*, was recorded as being held by Roger Prideaux in 1346 and as having been held by Reginald de Clifford previously.³⁴³ This 'Rocombe' holding, in so far as it can be traced, parallels the descent of Combeinteignhead manor; and as it cannot represent either Lower or Higher Rocombe in Stokeinteignhead it seems most likely to represent Middle Rocombe, the parochial outlier of Combeinteignhead.

If this identification is accepted, it means that William Chevre held all the Domesday holdings within Combeinteignhead parish as tenant-in-chief, including both Middle Rocombe and Combeinteignhead itself in demesne, and had no lands in any of the other three parishes in the Teignhead area. Yet Chevre's lands here were divided between two or probably three different

³⁴¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB ch.19 notes; 19,28-30 note; 19,29 (*contra* Reichel, 1912b, pp.341-2).

³⁴² Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.345-6.

³⁴³ *ibid.*, pp.387-8 [where the honour to which *Comb Tynhid* and *Rocom Blamoster* belonged is given as that of 'Wrestmas (recte Bradninch)', an honour formed from William Chevre's estates]; cf. p.169 & note 334 above.

hundreds in 1086, had been held by three or four different tenants in 1066, and included holdings at *Hacome* and perhaps at Rocombe that apparently had once been parts of larger land-units.³⁴⁴ Indeed, it appears that Chevre's tenure of these four holdings was itself the reason for their being associated with each other, which implies that the parochial boundaries reflect this tenurial association and consequently that Combeinteignhead's parish was of post-Conquest origin. If so, then its component holdings had presumably lain in one or more other parishes before this; and, within the context of the Teignhead area and its status as an outlier of the Exeter archdeaconry, it is most probable that they were part of Stokeinteignhead's original parish, this being the only other parish church in Teignhead until the late thirteenth century.³⁴⁵

Whether Combeinteignhead achieved parochial independence through William's own efforts or those of his immediate successors remains unclear. The style of the Norman font, which is the earliest surviving feature of the church, points to a time after William Chevre's estates had passed to William de Tracey or his son Henry, but this does not preclude an earlier foundation.³⁴⁶ All we can say with a fair degree of certainty is that the establishment of Combeinteignhead parish post-dates the Conquest but pre-dates the acquisition of the manor and the advowson by Reginald de Blaumoster in the early thirteenth century. Even so, this provides us with a basis from which to consider the other Teignhead parishes.

* * *

The second of the Domesday holdings called *Hacome* almost certainly corresponds to the later medieval manor and parish of Haccombe; unlike its northern namesake, however, this *Hacome*

³⁴⁴ In addition to the former unity implicit in the shared name of Higher, Middle and Lower Rocombe, it is notable that although the main body of the Middle Rocombe outlier occupies the central part of the valley within which it lies it also included a scatter of detached fields around Lower Gabwell (in Stokeinteignhead parish) in the adjacent valley to the east, which suggests that the parish boundary reflects the division of a shared agricultural system.

³⁴⁵ See discussion below.

³⁴⁶ Reichel, 1912b, p.341; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, ch.19 notes; Clarke, 1915, pp.352-3; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.283. A post-Conquest origin for the parish does not, of course, preclude the possibility that a church or chapel already existed at Combeinteignhead in the Anglo-Saxon period.

had a different pre-Conquest holder and almost certainly lay in a different hundred.³⁴⁷ It was part of Haytor Hundred in the thirteenth century; but in *Exon* it occurs immediately after entries relating to Witheridge Hundred and immediately before those relating to Teignbridge Hundred and, although a misplaced entry for Wonford Hundred is again possible, it seems highly likely that Haccombe lay in Teignbridge Hundred in 1086.³⁴⁸ At that time sheriff Baldwin's subtenant Stephen held it together with Ringmore (in St Nicholas Shaldon) and West Clifford (in Dunsford), and these three manors remained in Stephen's family - who adopted the name of Haccombe - until the early fourteenth century.³⁴⁹

Haccombe church is first mentioned in 1289, when a family settlement makes it clear that the advowson was then a manorial possession, but it was described only as a chapel in the *Taxatio* of c.1291.³⁵⁰ It is also described as a chapel in the episcopal records of institutions until 1328 when, at the request of Stephen de Haccombe, bishop Grandisson dedicated the parish church of Haccombe and two altars there together with a cemetery.³⁵¹ After Stephen's death in c.1330 the manors of Haccombe, Ringmore and West Clifford passed to the Archdeacon family and it was left to them to complete Stephen's plan to transform Haccombe church into a chantry college served by six priests; yet despite the consequent changes, the church retains sufficient thirteenth-century fabric to show that it originated as a small aisleless chapel.³⁵² The evidence strongly suggests a manorial chapel that was in the final stages of acquiring parochial independence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. However, any further discussion is best postponed until the evidence relating to the third of the four Teignhead parishes has been considered.

³⁴⁷ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,152; see also the discussion *re* Netherton, pp.169-70 above.

³⁴⁸ See Thorn & Thorn, 1985, ch.16 notes, for the *Exon* order [where DB 16,137 (Whitestone) is obviously misplaced]; cf. Thorn, 1991, p.33 n9, who regards Haccombe as a part of Kerswell Hundred in 1086.

³⁴⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,110; 16,112; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.317, 349; *idem*, 1923, pp.785-6; Reichel, 1912b, p.325.

³⁵⁰ Reichel *et al*, 1939, pp.47-8 no.844; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453. Note that a reference in Bronescombe's register to *ecclesia de Hascumb'* in 1260, which Robinson, 1995, pp.62-3 no.210, identifies as Haccombe, in fact refers to Ashcombe: cf. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.89; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.459, 486.

³⁵¹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, p.220; *idem*, 1894, p.360.

³⁵² Hingeston-Randolph, 1897, pp.852-5; *idem*, 1899, p.1333; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.392; Rowe, 1914, p.423 no.680, pp.428-9 no.684; Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.435n3; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.464-5.

The parish of St Nicholas Shaldon is a much more recent creation than the other Teignhead parishes and is not recorded in the *Taxatio* of c.1291, nor in the *Valor* of 1535. The present parish church of St Peter at Shaldon is a modern foundation and the parish in fact takes its name from a small chapel at Ringmore, probably dedicated to St Nicholas since before the late twelfth century and where some thirteenth-century fabric and a Norman font have survived subsequent rebuildings.³⁵³ The Domesday holding of Ringmore passed from Brictric to sheriff Baldwin's subtenant Stephen after the Conquest, whereafter it shared the same manorial descent as Haccombe, passing to the Archdeacon family in c.1330 and thence to the Carews in the early fifteenth century.³⁵⁴ Our main source of information for the ecclesiastical history of Ringmore is the account given by Polwhele in the late eighteenth century.³⁵⁵ Although he mistook a seventeenth-century rebuilding of the chapel as the date of its foundation, it is obvious from his account that the Carews were the patrons of Ringmore after it acquired parochial status but that before this it had been a chapelry subject to the archpriest of Haccombe. There seems to be no reason to doubt Polwhele's account, but it is also obvious that the Ringmore chapel pre-dates both the foundation of the chantry college at Haccombe and the period during which Haccombe gained independent parochial status. It is almost certain that both Ringmore and Haccombe originated as manorial chapels of the Haccombe family; yet if St Nicholas Shaldon parish reflects the tenurial interests of the Carews or their predecessors then it is apparent from the jigsaw of detached strips and fields that it fossilises that their lands were intimately linked with those of Stokeinteignhead.³⁵⁶ This is hardly surprising, because if the parish of Combeinteignhead was indeed a post-Conquest creation based on William Chevre's holdings, as argued above, then the holdings at Ringmore and Haccombe must once have been parts of the

³⁵³ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.460; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.797; Orme, 1996, p.198.

³⁵⁴ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,112 (with references); Reichel *et al*, 1939, pp.47-8 no.844; Rowe, 1914, p.423 no.680.

³⁵⁵ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.145; see also Dunstan, 1971, pp.48-50.

³⁵⁶ St Nicholas Shaldon parish comprises a patchwork of detached fields in the remnants of a medieval strip field system and clearly fossilises the division of a shared agricultural system: DRO St Nicholas Shaldon tithe map (1843) [=PRO IR 30/9/360], Stokeinteignhead tithe map (1843) [=PRO IR 30/9/386]; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.801.

original parish of Stokeinteignhead church. It is to this church and the manor within which it was located that we must now turn our attention.

Stokeinteignhead was held by Ordric in 1066 and by Nicholas de la Pole in demesne in 1086, following whose death it became part of the Honour of Plympton created by Henry I for Richard de Redvers, whose son Baldwin became the first earl of Devon in 1141.³⁵⁷ Soon afterwards, in 1162, we encounter the earliest surviving reference to Stokeinteignhead church in an actum of the archdeacon of Exeter; the context implies that the Teignhead parishes already constituted a discrete ecclesiastical land-unit by that time and, as has been argued above, it is probable that Stokeinteignhead church was, or until very recently had been, the mother church for the whole of this land-unit.³⁵⁸ The manor of Stokeinteignhead, together with the group of holdings in the outliers of Wonford Hundred for which it was the *caput*, had passed to the fitzPaynes by the early thirteenth century; but a roughly contemporary (albeit now lost) charter issued by earl William de Vernon in 1193x1208 shows that Stokeinteignhead church, like that of Ilsington, was then in the hands of Plympton priory.³⁵⁹ It seems likely that this charter was essentially a confirmation of earlier grants and Plympton priory's existing possessions, although as the priory represented a refoundation of the former Plympton minster in 1121 the point at which it acquired Stokeinteignhead church remains unknown.³⁶⁰ In any event, it is apparent that any tenurial association between the manor and church of Stokeinteignhead had been broken before - and perhaps considerably before - the end of the twelfth century.

The other Domesday holdings in the parish can be dealt with fairly briefly. Maidencombe and one of the 'Rocombes' were held by Bernard, another of sheriff Baldwin's subtenants, in 1086 and had passed to Richard Cadiho by the early thirteenth century, after which 'Rocombe Cadiho' can be traced fairly readily and is almost certainly represented by Higher Rocombe, adjacent to

³⁵⁷ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,3 & ch.48 notes; Sanders, 1960, p.137; Bearman, 1994, pp.17-8, 20.

³⁵⁸ Kemp, 2001, p.30 no.40; see pp.167-8 above.

³⁵⁹ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.311, 313; Reichel, 1912b, pp.279-80, 318-9; Bearman, 1994, pp.167-9 no.23.

³⁶⁰ See Johnson & Cronne, 1956, pp.72 no.841, 185 no.1391; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,17; Barlow, 1996a, p.19 no.19.

Maidencombe.³⁶¹ Yet at some point before 1168 all or part of Maidencombe must have been held by one William fitzStephen, because in that year land in Maidencombe that he had given to Plympton priory was being disputed between the priory and Forde abbey.³⁶² Plympton won the case and Forde's interest in the matter is unclear, but it shows that Plympton held land in Stokeinteignhead parish at least twenty-five years before earl William's charter. The third of the 'Rocombes' recorded by Domesday was also the largest and, like Stokeinteignhead itself, was held by Ordric in 1066 and by Nicholas de la Pole in demesne in 1086.³⁶³ It later fragmented into separate holdings and the main part was held by Reginald de Blaumoster in the thirteenth century, whence it acquired the name 'Rocombe Blaumoster'; this is almost certainly Lower Rocombe, although a subsidiary part may have lain at Charlecombe, adjacent to the north.³⁶⁴

The last of the Domesday holdings within the Teignhead area was *Taine*, now Teignharvey in Stokeinteignhead parish, held by Ælfric before the Conquest and by Hugh of Rennes from sheriff Baldwin, from whom it seems to have passed, by either descent or purchase, to the Bryan family by 1166 and thence to the Beauchamps by the early fourteenth century.³⁶⁵ What may be significant here is the recurrence of Ælfric as the name of a local pre-Conquest landholder. It seems too much of a coincidence that Ælfric and Edric, William Chevre's antecessors at Combeinteignhead and Middle Rocombe respectively, were also the names of the pre-Conquest holders of the two East Ogwell holdings that passed to William's brother Ralph of Pomeroy after the Conquest.³⁶⁶ William and Ralph are known to have divided estates between themselves, even to the extent of sharing the services of one villager between two holdings.³⁶⁷ It seems highly

³⁶¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,126-7; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.312-13, 345, 386-7, 485; Reichel, 1912a, pp.83-4 no.163, 368 no.713; *idem*, 1912b, pp.328-30; *idem et al*, 1939, pp.viii, 28 no.811; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.461.

³⁶² Barlow, 1996a, pp.92-3 no.104; Reichel, 1912b, pp.325, 329; see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.388.

³⁶³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,4.

³⁶⁴ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.345, 388, 483; *idem*, 1923, p.788; Reichel, 1912b, p.320. For Charlecombe, see Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.318, 348, 392, 491; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.461; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 48,10.

³⁶⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,117; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.312-3, 346, 387, 486; Reichel, 1912b, pp.326-7 (some of Reichel's comments on this holding are misleading, because he seems to have confused entries regarding Teign Harvey with others relating to Teign George in Ashton parish).

³⁶⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,28-9; 34,27-8; see also p.166 above.

³⁶⁷ See Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB ch.19 notes; ch.34 notes; for the 'shared villager', see DB 19,43; 34,45.

probable, therefore, that the brothers' antecessors Ælfric and Edric represent a pre-Conquest tenurial link between Teignhead and the Ogwells to parallel that of Nicholas de la Pole's antecessor Ordric. What is also notable is that Ælfric, Edric and Ordric each held one of the three holdings with which East Ogwell church was apparently associated at a later date.

* * *

It is time to draw the various threads of the present case study together, not only with regard to Teignhead and the Ogwells but also with regard to the 'Teignton land-unit'. It was argued earlier that the 'Teignton land-unit' was a large and geographically coherent territory comprising seven later parishes, and that the whole of this territory had constituted the original parish served by Bishopsteignton minster at some point prior to the division of that territory between the hundreds of Teignbridge and Exminster. Our survey of the surrounding area appears to confirm the proposed extent of Bishopsteignton's original parish. The division of this original parish between two hundreds seems most likely to indicate that it represents a territorial unit of pre-hundredal origin; but this is not certain, nor is it clear as to what chronological interpretation can be put on the designation 'pre-hundredal' in a local context. The anomalous hundredal affiliations of the Domesday holdings in the area immediately to the south of Bishopsteignton's original parish offered a potential key to understanding the development of local hundredal organisation. However, that potential has not fully been realised, and as yet we cannot explain why or when some holdings within this area came to be regarded as outliers of Wonford Hundred rather than as parts of Exminster, Teignbridge or Kerswell hundreds.

Nevertheless, some progress has been made. The evidence strongly suggests that Stokeinteignhead church was once the mother church of the four later Teignhead parishes, while that at East Ogwell once served the two later Ogwell parishes. In both cases it appears that these original parishes - and therefore their mother churches - pre-date the tenurial fragmentation evidenced in Domesday, and in the case of the Ogwells it is probable that they represent a land-

unit that existed in the mid-tenth century. That the four Teignhead parishes constituted a single pre-Conquest land-unit overcomes the main objection to using the hundredal evidence alone to identify the components of the 'Ten Hide' land-unit implied by toponymy. Although falling short of proof, the available evidence strongly suggests that the original 'Ten Hide' land-unit did indeed comprise Teignhead, Ogwell and an outlying area of moorland pasture near Ilsington.

Ordric was the only person to hold land in all three parts of this 'Ten Hide' land-unit in 1066, but that he did not hold any one part in its entirety indicates that it had begun to fragment at least a generation before the Conquest. Even so, his tenurial interests - perhaps echoed in those of his successors - probably provide our best indicator as to the internal organisation of the former 'Ten Hide' land-unit. If so, then they suggest that Stokeinteignhead was the central place for the whole land-unit; that this predominance would be paralleled by that of Stokeinteignhead church seems likely, but to accept this risks going beyond that which the available evidence can support.³⁶⁸ By the same token, we cannot determine if this 'Ten Hide' land-unit pre-dates or post-dates the local hundredal organisation recorded by Domesday. Nevertheless, the affiliations of its component holdings suggest that the 'Ten Hide' grant was made in the context of a pattern of landscape organisation that was more closely affiliated with arrangements to the north rather than to the south of the natural boundary formed by the river Lemon and the Teign estuary. Again, however, further discussion of these problems must be postponed until we have a better picture of the early ecclesiastical and administrative organisation of the Exeter hinterland area.

³⁶⁸ The place-name evidence is also equivocal on this point. The Domesday form of Stokeinteignhead was the simplex *Stoches*, from Old English *stoc*. The earliest meaning of this word seems to have been 'secondary settlement, component part of a large estate'; yet the word is very rare as a minor place-name, and the great majority of places called *stoc* were, or had become, independent centres by the late Anglo-Saxon period. There is, however, limited evidence for a specialised meaning 'Christian holy place', suggested by the place-names *Godestoch* (Shropshire) and *Halstock* (Dorset: see S 290; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.5-11 no.3; Hall, 2000, p.20) and the minor name *Halstock* in Okehampton (Devon; perhaps referring to ecclesiastical ownership), all of which occur in areas that only came under Anglo-Saxon control in or after the seventh century. There are also two literary examples: on one occasion *stoc* is used to translate Latin *cella*, in the sense of 'monastery', and in the other it is used as a parallel to *mynster*. I am very grateful to Dr Margaret Gelling for giving me a typescript of her unpublished 'Notes on the word *stoc*', from which these comments are derived.

3.4: Case study III: the Cullompton area.

Our third case study focuses mainly on Cullompton and the parishes of the middle Culm and Tale valleys. Cullompton is first mentioned in the late ninth century, when king Alfred's will included it among the lands allocated to his youngest son Æthelweard.³⁶⁹ It does not occur again in surviving pre-Conquest records, but its details were subsumed in the Domesday entry for the royal hundredal manor of Silverton and it is reasonable to assume that Cullompton had remained in royal hands throughout the intervening period.³⁷⁰ The three main components of the Domesday estate of Silverton are recognisable as separate entities again during the twelfth century, with Thorverton being granted to Marmoutier abbey by Henry I and Silverton and Cullompton apparently continuing in royal possession until Henry II granted them to the earl of Devon in the late 1150s.³⁷¹ Within the part that formed Cullompton manor we also know that there were subinfeudations at Padbrook before 1137 and at Newland and *Lamora* before 1166, the *termini ante quos* being those of subsequent grants from these sub-holdings to Montacute and Plympton priories respectively.³⁷² In 1278 the remainder of Cullompton manor was granted by Amice de Redvers to her new foundation of Buckland abbey and this grant was confirmed by her daughter the countess Isabella in 1291, by which time the abbot of Buckland had also acquired the hundred of Hayridge (as Silverton Hundred was now called).³⁷³

The bounds given in the charters issued by Amice and Isabella allow us to reconstruct the manor's extent at that time and suggest that Padbrook, Newland and *Lamora* had represented

³⁶⁹ S 1507; Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, p.175.

³⁷⁰ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,7. For the approximate extent of the royal holding in Cullompton, see below.

³⁷¹ For the early history of these manors see: *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.70; Maxwell-Lyte, 1904, p.15 no.3; *idem*, 1920, pp.96, 264; Reichel, 1910, pp.229-30; *idem*, 1912a, pp.235-6 no.466; Searle, 1980, pp.114-17; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,7 notes; Bearman, 1994, pp.174-5 no.35. For the date: Fryde *et al*, 1986, pp.36, 459; Bearman, 1994, pp.93-5 no.47.

³⁷² For Padbrook: Holmes *et al*, 1894, pp.122 no.5, 123-6 nos.8-9, 179-80 nos.155-7, 181 no.159; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.368; *idem*, 1923, p.789; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.561; see also Reichel, 1910, p.231 (although his suggested descent is chronologically impossible). Note that Padbrook is sometimes referred to simply as '10s of land in Cullompton'. For Newland (held with Southwood in Broadhembury) and *Lamora*: Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.368, 425, 482; *idem*, 1923, p.789; Bearman, 1994, pp.38, 167-9 no.23, 188-9 no.16. The identification of *Lamora* is not certain, but it probably represents a part of Newland referred to as *More* in 1333, now called Moorhayes: see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.562.

³⁷³ Oliver, 1846, pp.382-4; Rowe, 1875, pp.352-9; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.382; *idem*, 1904, pp.173-7 no.564; Reichel, 1910, pp.231-2; Reichel *et al*, 1939, pp.6-7 no.773; Hobbs, 1998, pp.99-100 nos.375, 378.

grants from liminal portions of the manor. It is possible that a similar process or policy was present in the pre-Conquest period, because to the west of the manor, but within Cullompton parish, there was a block of four adjacent Domesday holdings - one at Hillersdon, two at Ponsford and one at Colebrook - that were each assessed at half-a-hide in 1086 and may once have been parts of the royal holding.³⁷⁴ In addition to these holdings and that associated with Cullompton church, discussed below, another two Domesday holdings lay in the south of the parish. The larger holding was that at Langford held by one of sheriff Baldwin's sub-tenants in 1086, from whom it passed to a family who adopted the name of this holding.³⁷⁵ The other holding was called Aller, which passed from Merleswein to Ralph Pagnell after the Conquest and was one of the estates granted to the Peverells by Henry I in the early twelfth century.³⁷⁶ Most of Aller lay to the north of Langford, but there was also an outlier called *Fryelond* that included Whiteheathfield in the south-west corner of Cullompton parish.³⁷⁷ The topography of these Domesday holdings and their relationship to the part of Bradninch that lay to the east of the river Culm will be considered shortly, but it seems possible that Langford and Aller also represent parts of the royal holding at Cullompton that had been alienated in the pre-Conquest period.

It was noted earlier that the Domesday entry for Cullompton church satisfied several of Blair's suggested criteria for identifying churches of 'superior' status: it had an endowment of one hide,

³⁷⁴ For Hillersdon, see: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 42,18; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.368, 425, 487; *idem*, 1923, p.775. For the two Ponsford holdings, see: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,97-98; Reichel, 1910, pp.236-7; *idem*, 1912a, p.243 no.478; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.322, 368, 425, 487; *idem*, 1920, p.398; *idem*, 1923, p.786; and see discussion below *re* Kentisbeare. Colebrook passed from Ælmer to William Chevre's sub-tenant Manfred after the Conquest and was given to Ford abbey in c.1180: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,23; Oliver, 1846, p.347; Reichel, 1910, p.241; Hobbs, 1998, pp.100-3 nos.380-8, 114 nos.430-1, 116 no.439. Although in Cullompton parish, Colebrook appears to have been treated as part of Bradninch manor at the time of the grant to Forde abbey; see below.

³⁷⁵ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,96; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.321, 368, 424, 481, 487; *idem*, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31; *idem*, 1920, p.97; *idem*, 1923, p.786; Reichel, 1910, pp.234-5; Clarke, 1994, pp.259-60. The Exchequer Domesday gives the assessment of Langford as 1 hide and 3 virgates, but the original *Exon* entry gave this as 1½ hides.

³⁷⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 32,3; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.253; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.70; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.438-41; *idem*, 1920, p.96; *idem*, 1923, pp.782, 1263. Merleswein, who continued to serve as sheriff of Lincolnshire until 1069, was also Ralph Pagnell's *antecessore* at Kerswell in Broadhembury: see Thorn & Thorn, DB 32,1 note, DB 32,2; Clarke, 1994, pp.135, 322-4. The nearby Domesday holding of Aller in Kentisbeare may also have formed part of the Peverell holding: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,103 note, and see below.

³⁷⁷ In the mid-thirteenth century Hugh Peverell confirmed a predecessor's grant of 2s of rent from Whiteheathfield 'at *Fryelond* within the manor of Aller' to the cell of Montacute priory at Kerswell in Broadhembury: see Holmes *et al*, 1894, pp.173-4 no.145, 176 no.148; Reichel, 1912a, p.164 no.332; see also Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 49,4 note.

was held separately from the parent manor, and was accorded a separate entry by the compilers of the Domesday survey.³⁷⁸ It is also worth noting that the church was valued at £15 6s 8d in the *Taxatio* and was the tenth wealthiest church in the Exeter hinterland survey area in c.1291.³⁷⁹ The evidence strongly suggests that Cullompton was a 'superior' church, probably a minster that had been staffed by a small community of priests or canons, but what is lacking in the Domesday record is an explicit reference to more than one resident ecclesiastic that would confirm its collegiate status in the pre-Conquest period. Instead, we are told that Thorbert held the church in 1066, and it is notable that this is the only holding recorded in Devon for someone of that name. He was clearly not a major local landholder, so Thorbert's tenure of what appears to have been an important church may indicate that he was a priest or clerk in royal service to whom it was granted as a source of income, a contemporary practice that is known from elsewhere.³⁸⁰

Whatever the status of Thorbert himself, however, we can learn much about his church from a later source. After the Conquest William I granted Cullompton church to Battle abbey, who transferred it to a daughter house dedicated to St Nicholas and founded on land attached to St Olaf's church in Exeter.³⁸¹ A monastic lawyer, writing in the 1180s after half a century of service to Battle abbey, produced a 'narrative cartulary' intended as a legal case-book to guide his abbey in future litigation, and he appears to be both conscientious and generally reliable.³⁸² He claims that William I's grant comprised 'a church of his demesne in Cullompton with the five prebends pertaining to it', which clearly implies that Thorbert's church was, or previously had been, a collegiate one for five ecclesiasts associated with the royal holding at Cullompton.³⁸³ He then

³⁷⁸ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 9,1; Blair, 1985, pp.104-11 & fig. 7.1; and see chapter 2.3 above (at p.58 & note 122).

³⁷⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453; and see Appendix I below.

³⁸⁰ In the whole of Domesday there are only 18 holdings where the 1066 holder was called 'Thorbert', with one in Hertfordshire distinguished as 'priest': Keats-Rohan & Thornton, 1997, p.206. For grants of 'superior' churches to provide income for royal clerks, see e.g. Blair, 1985, p.124; Hase, 1988, p.49. Rosser, 1988, p.32 n12, suggested that the *Ororic presbiter* named among late eleventh-century members of *Colatunes gildscipe* referred to the priest of Cullompton church, but it is more probable that *Colatune* refers to Colaton Raleigh: see note 575 below; cf. note 254 above.

³⁸¹ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 9,1-2; Bates, 1998, pp.161-5 no.22 (superseding Davis & Whitwell, 1913, pp.16-17 no.62).

³⁸² Searle, 1980, pp.1ff, 8-9.

³⁸³ *ecclesiam quondam dominii sui de villa de Culuntuna cum prebendis quinque ad eandem pertinentibus*. Searle, 1980, p.80. The writer cannot be referring to the arrangements of his own time because both Battle abbey and St Nicholas priory had

describes William I's grant of St Olaf's to Battle abbey, how two monks from Battle organised the building of the new priory of St Nicholas and were joined by others when the site was habitable, and that to support these brethren Battle abbey then gave to the priory 'Cullompton church, where previously the monks had lived, with the five prebendal lands of Upton, Colebrook, Henland, Weaver and *Esse*'.³⁸⁴ The land at *Esse* has not been identified, but the others can all be located with a high degree of certainty. Upton and Weaver lay to the east of the river Culm and were treated as a single holding in later records; they constituted a discrete tithe district within Cullompton parish in the 1840s, and it seems likely that the boundaries recorded then are essentially those of the earlier land-units.³⁸⁵ Colebrook was presumably near the secular holding of Colebrook in Cullompton noted above, although it does not apparently occur in later records and it may be that St Nicholas priory sold or lost control of it at an early date.³⁸⁶ Henland - the place-name derives from Old English *higna-land* meaning 'the estate of the monks' - survived as an outlier of Cullompton parish in the east of Kentisbeare at the time of the tithe surveys, and here too the boundary probably preserves that of one of Cullompton's prebendal lands.³⁸⁷

What is perhaps most notable about these five 'prebendal lands', which presumably represent the one hide held with Cullompton church in the Domesday record,³⁸⁸ is that they appear to have

a communal, not a prebendal, system of administering their endowment and Cullompton church was served only by a perpetual chaplain by the late 1150s: Barlow, 1996a, pp.53 no.62, 90-1 no.102; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.52, 126.

³⁸⁴ *ecclesia ... de Coluntuna, ubi prius habitauerant monachi, cum quinque terris prebendarum, scilicet Uppetona, Colebroche, Hinelande, Wevre, Esse, et omnibus ad eam pertinentibus.* Searle, 1980, pp.80-3; Brewer, 1846, pp.31-3. The comment that monks had lived at Cullompton church previously may mean that the two monks from Battle dwelt there while the new priory was being built (Lennard, 1959, p.397), but this suggests that the church was already equipped to accommodate more than one religious. Bishop Osbern allowed that the new priory could replace the existing priests at their churches of St Olaf and Cullompton, but the wording of his actum is too ambiguous to be used for or against the possibility that either church was served by more than one priest at that time: Barlow, 1996a, pp.3-4 no.4.

³⁸⁵ DRO Cullompton tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/145], Upton Weaver tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/432]; Reichel, 1904, p.360; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, p.1263; Youings, 1955, pp.25-7 no.33.

³⁸⁶ It is possible that the prebendal lands at both *Esse* ('Ash') and Colebrook became part of the Domesday holding of Colebrook that passed to Forde abbey, because a place called Ash immediately precedes Colebrook in a confirmation of the abbey's property in 1204: Maxwell-Lyte, 1890, p.24 A228.

³⁸⁷ DRO Cullompton tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/145], Kentisbeare tithe map (1842) [=PRO IR 30/9/239]; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, pp.565-6 (although the forms cited there omit the *Hynelonde* given by the monk of Battle, c.1184, and the form *Hennelonde* (p) from 1370 should also be added: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1901, p.224).

³⁸⁸ There is no evidence that Bowley in Cadbury was part of Cullompton's endowment, *contra* Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 9,1 note. It was a separate holding associated with St Olaf's rather than Cullompton in 1212 (Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.96) and was perhaps part of the gift of Cadbury church made to the priory of St Nicholas in the early 1170s: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.6-7; Barlow, 1996a, pp.89-90 no.101; *idem*, 1996b, pp.144-5 no.159.

been at some distance from the church. The present church of Cullompton and its churchyard lie between the main street and the western channel of the river Culm; and although the church was rebuilt in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, reflecting the affluence generated by Cullompton's importance in the wool trade, it is almost certain that it perpetuates the site of its earlier medieval predecessor.³⁸⁹ In other words, although Thorbert's church lay within the royal holding of Cullompton and presumably close to the central focus of that holding, the endowment of the church, with the possible exception of Henland and the unidentified *Esse*, appears to form part of the pattern of liminal alienations from the royal holding noted above. It is probable, therefore, that the minster at Cullompton had been founded on royal land and by royal initiative.

We cannot, on present evidence, determine a more precise dating for that foundation within the period between the early eighth and mid-eleventh centuries, although the presence of a prebendal system and Thorbert's tenure of the church suggest that it was not a minster that had undergone significant monastic reform in the later tenth or early eleventh century. However, the provision for five ecclesiasts may indicate that, at the time of its foundation, Cullompton church was intended to be the mother church for an original parish that was larger than that recorded for it in the nineteenth-century tithe surveys. By using the same approach as that adopted for earlier sections in this chapter, we now need to discover whether any traces of such a parish have survived in later records or the modern landscape.

* * *

It is useful to start by noting that there are several later parishes in the Cullompton area that are not likely to have formed part of an original parish based on Cullompton. Immediately to the north of Cullompton (and only partly within the present survey area), Willand appears to have developed from a manorial chapel that gained parochial independence at the expense of Halberton, while Halberton itself was apparently a church of 'superior' status that originated as a

³⁸⁹ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.254-5; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.303-5; see also Dyer, 2002, pp.308-9.

parochial chapel dependent on a minster at Tiverton in the pre-Conquest period.³⁹⁰ Similarly, to the east of Willand and to the north of Kentisbeare, Uffculme appears to correspond to a land-unit granted to Glastonbury abbey in the ninth century and almost certainly lay in an original parish associated with the abbey's holding at Culmstock.³⁹¹ It is therefore probable that the northern boundary of Cullompton's nineteenth-century parish has preserved that of its original pre-Conquest parish, and that the whole of Cullompton's putative original parish should lie within the present survey area.

To the south-west of Cullompton is the parish of Bradninch, which encompasses most of the eastern half of the hills dividing the Culm and Exe valleys. Although part or all of at least one other Domesday holding can be located within the parish, the main holding was that of Bradninch itself, which passed from Brictrner in 1066 to William Chevre by 1086.³⁹² After William Chevre's death his estates escheated to the crown and formed a barony with Bradninch as its *caput*, first granted by Henry I to his illegitimate son William de Tracy and then passing through a succession of holders until it became permanently attached to the duchy of Cornwall in the fourteenth century.³⁹³ With regard to the other holdings that may have lain in Bradninch parish, one source of confusion can be cleared up fairly swiftly. The Domesday holding of Colebrook in Cullompton also passed to William Chevre after the Conquest, being held by his sub-tenant Manfred, and when it was granted to Forde abbey in c.1180 the confirmation of the lord of Bradninch as overlord was needed.³⁹⁴ Indeed, Colebrook was sometimes regarded as part

³⁹⁰ For the main details, see: S 1507; Astle *et al.*, 1802, pp.143-4; Oliver, 1846, p.193; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.99, 186, 454; *idem.*, 1892, pp.264-5; Round, 1899, p.462 no.1276; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,35; 1,70; 42,24; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.469, 808-10, 911; Thorn, 1991, p.30 n2, 36, 39; Bearman, 1994, pp.74-5 no.25, 76-7 no.27, 93-5 no.47; Barlow, 1996a, pp.32-5 no.33; Robinson, 1999, p.37 no.775. However, as these parishes do not form part of the present survey area I intend to discuss the evidence relating to the original parishes of the mother church at Tiverton and of that at Culmstock or Hemyock (noted below) at another time.

³⁹¹ S 303, S 1683, S 1687, S 1691, S 1697; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 23,9 notes; see also S 386. It is probable that the later parishes of Hemyock, Clayhidon, Churchstanton and perhaps Dunkeswell had also formed part of this putative original parish, although it is not entirely clear whether the mother church lay at Culmstock or Hemyock.

³⁹² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,31.

³⁹³ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.321, 368, 382; *idem.*, 1903, pp.36, 281; *idem.*, 1904, p.7 no.23; *idem.*, 1923, pp.792, 1368, 1443; Reichel, 1910, p.242; Sanders, 1960, pp.20-1; see also Fryde *et al.*, 1986, pp.456-7.

³⁹⁴ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,23; Hobbs, 1998, pp.100-1 nos.380-3, 114 no.430, 116 no.439; see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1890, p.24 A228, and note Sanders, 1960, p.20 n5.

of the fee or manor of Bradninch and held grazing rights within the manor, which has led some commentators to assume that it also lay in the parish of Bradninch rather than Cullompton; but Forde abbey administered Colebrook as part of their manor of Tale in Payhembury, as they did with their lands at Woodbeare in Plymtree, and the details relating to the sale of Tale manor in 1544 make it clear that no part of their lands had lain in Bradninch parish.³⁹⁵

Another confusion arises with regard to lands lying in or near the south of Bradninch parish because the locations and extents of the holdings concerned remain uncertain. Two holdings called *Colum* and *Bernardesmore*, although held separately in 1066, had passed to sheriff Baldwin's subtenant Rogo by 1086.³⁹⁶ Land granted under both these place-names to Montacute priory (and its cell at Kerswell) by Rogo's descendants in the twelfth century came to be known as 'Monkculm', with which was often associated a separate grant of rents from Padbrook in Cullompton.³⁹⁷ 'Monkculm' no longer survives as a modern place-name, but Donn's map of 1765 locates it at what is now Penstone in Silverton; and when Montacute's manor of 'Monkculm' was sold to Roger Bluett in 1540 it lay in Silverton parish and included rents derived from the parishes of Silverton, Broadclyst and Cullompton but again nothing from the parish of Bradninch.³⁹⁸ However, another part of one or both of the Domesday holdings of *Colum* and *Bernardesmore* was retained by Rogo's family and was held from them under the place-name *Hele*, now Hele in Bradninch.³⁹⁹ It is apparent that while 'Monkculm' lay in Silverton parish, most or all of 'Hele' lay in Bradninch parish; and there is a suspicion that the parish boundary here reflects the boundary between these post-Conquest holdings rather than that between the Domesday

³⁹⁵ See Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.251; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.71; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.475; Reichel, 1910, p.241; Maxwell-Lyte, 1922, p.155; Youings, 1955, pp.47-8 no.52; Hobbs, 1998, pp.101 no.383, 102-3 nos.387-8; see also DRO Cullompton tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/143].

³⁹⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,104-5.

³⁹⁷ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Holmes *et al*, 1894, pp.122 no.5, 123-6 nos.8-9, 127 no.11, 178-9 nos.153-5, 180-1 nos.157-9; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.382; Reichel, 1904, p.360; *idem*, 1912a, pp.268-9 no.532 (but note that Reichel's identifications are incorrect); and see above *re* Padbrook in Cullompton.

³⁹⁸ Donn, 1765 (and see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.250; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.570); Youings, 1955, pp.8-9 no.11. The source of the rents paid to Montacute priory from Broadclyst parish has not yet been identified.

³⁹⁹ Holmes *et al*, 1894, pp.178-9 no.153; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.322, 368, 425, 487; *idem*, 1923, p.786; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.556 (although the Domesday form given there in fact refers to Hele in Meeth parish, not Hele in Bradninch); Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,105 note; 39,8 note.

holdings of *Colum* and *Bernardesmore*, although the identifications of the places involved and their components are not yet sufficiently secure for us to push this possibility too far.

The advowson of Bradninch church was already in the hands of the manorial lord when it was first mentioned in the early 1240s and remained so thereafter, yet the church and the manor house are sited about a quarter of a mile apart on different sides of the small forked valley that appears to have been the main medieval settlement focus.⁴⁰⁰ The distance between the two suggests that the church did not originate as a manorial chapel; but although the church has probably occupied its present site since at least the late thirteenth century, the present manor house has developed from one built *de novo* in the mid-sixteenth century and we cannot be certain that it perpetuates the site of its medieval predecessor.⁴⁰¹ On the other hand, it seems unlikely that a manor that was the *caput* of a barony from the early twelfth century onwards would have been without some kind of local ecclesiastical provision, even if the nature of that provision remains obscure. Admittedly, the valuation of the church at £8 13s 4d in the *Taxatio* of c.1291 placed it equal third (with Silverton) in terms of value among the fifteen churches within the Plymtree deanery, but this relative wealth is readily explained in this instance because Bradninch was established as a borough in the late twelfth century and was granted a market and fair in 1208.⁴⁰² However, the fact that the fair was to be held on the feast of St Denis, the patron saint of Bradninch church according to later records, suggests that the church was already in existence by 1208, while this choice of patron saint may itself indicate a twelfth-century origin for this

⁴⁰⁰ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.118; *idem*, 1892, pp.193, 582; *idem*, 1899, p.1378; Reichel, 1903, p.279; Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, p.281; *idem*, 1904, p.7 no.23.

⁴⁰¹ Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.200-1. No surviving fabric in the present church pre-dates the fifteenth century, but the church tower needed rebuilding in 1437 and, unless a major structural problem had occurred soon after its predecessor's construction, this implies that the church had stood on the present site long enough for an earlier tower to deteriorate. Similarly, in 1323 bishop Stapeldon visited Bradninch church and directed the parishioners to repair the roof: Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, p.83. Taken together, these are strong indications that the church has occupied its present site since at least c.1300 and probably earlier. See also Morris, 1989, pp.316ff, for a valuable discussion of fabric deterioration and maintenance in medieval churches.

⁴⁰² Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.250-1; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.95; Maxwell-Lyte, 1889, p.453; Reichel, 1910, p.243; Croslegh, 1911, *passim*, and see Appendix I below. A further market and annual fair (on the feast of the Holy Trinity) were granted in 1239: Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, p.246; Reichel, 1903, p.279.

particular dedication.⁴⁰³ The evidence is ambiguous, but the balance of probabilities suggests that the present church developed from one founded in conjunction with the establishment of the borough in the late twelfth century, although this may have replaced an earlier manorial church or chapel, perhaps on a different site.

In any event, it seems highly unlikely that Bradninch church originated as a minster, which suggests that it probably developed within the original parish of a mother church elsewhere. In the absence of any documentary evidence that might provide direct or indirect clues as to the earlier parochial affiliations of Bradninch, the most useful indicators are those provided by an assessment of the parochial topography. The possibility that the parish boundary between Bradninch and Silverton in the area around Hele and 'Monkculm' was a post-Conquest development has already been noted, but the dominant feature of the remainder of this western boundary is a road that follows the curving ridge-line leading towards Butterleigh and seems to represent an obvious boundary. The northern boundary between Bradninch and Cullompton parishes also tends to follow natural features, these being the river Burn and, albeit in a less direct fashion, the Colebrook valley. However, although much of the eastern boundary between Bradninch and Cullompton follows one of the channels of the river Culm, part of Bradninch parish extends to the east of the river to include the area around Garlandhayes farm, a place-name that derives from Old English *gāra-land* and means 'the triangular or spear-shaped estate'.⁴⁰⁴ What is notable is that this projecting part of Bradninch, which was connected by a ford to the rest of the parish, included an area of meadow at the confluence of the rivers Culm and Weaver and then extended southwards to incorporate some of the higher ground that forms their watershed with the river Clyst. The boundary here seems to fossilise the careful division of landscape resources between Bradninch and holdings to the east of the river - presumably those recorded by the Domesday survey at Aller and Langford in Cullompton, because the *gāra-land*

⁴⁰³ Orme, 1996, pp.33, 53, 135.

⁴⁰⁴ DRO Bradninch tithe map (1839) [=PRO IR 30/9/53], Cullompton tithe map (1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/145]; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.557 (the first element is related to Old English *gār* 'spear' and presumably refers to shape).

almost separates the sub-holding of Aller at *Fryelond* from Langford and the rest of Cullompton parish. Although far from conclusive, therefore, the topographical evidence suggests that Bradninch is more likely to have been part of Cullompton minster's original parish than to have lain within one associated with any possible mother church at Silverton. Whether such a church existed at Silverton (or perhaps at Thorverton) or whether Cullompton's original parish extended to the west of Bradninch are, however, questions that must be postponed until the parishes of the middle Exe valley can be studied, and this lies beyond the scope of the present thesis.

* * *

To the east of Cullompton and to the south of Uffculme is Kentisbeare parish, whose boundaries broadly define a small river valley running from the edge of the Blackdown plateau in the east towards the Culm valley in the west. In the south-west of the parish was Kentismoor, a large area of common pasture belonging to and administered by the hundred of Hayridge; it is first mentioned in the thirteenth century and remained unenclosed until 1806.⁴⁰⁵ Topographically and administratively, therefore, Kentisbeare's most obvious associations are with Cullompton. Tenurially, the eight or nine Domesday holdings that can be located within the parish all had different holders in 1066, but five of them (Kingsford, Aller, two holdings called 'Kentisbeare' and the smaller of two holdings called 'Blackborough'), together with the two holdings at Ponsford in Cullompton, were held by William Black from sheriff Baldwin in 1086.⁴⁰⁶ The two

⁴⁰⁵ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.256; Whale, 1900, p.546 (and see *ibid.*, pp.534-5, *contra* Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.xix); Chalk, 1910a, pp.336-8; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.566. The extent of the moor in c.1802 is marked on the earliest 1" Ordnance Survey map: see Margary, 1977, p.25.

⁴⁰⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,99(Kingsford), 16,100(Kentisbeare), 16,101(Blackborough), 16,102(Kentisbeare), 16,103(Aller), 19,21(Pirzwell, perhaps later incorporating 19,22 'Huish'), 38,2(Orway) and 51,7(Blackborough Boty). For Pirzwell, 'Huish', Orway and Blackborough Boty, see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.321-2, 368, 424, 487; *idem*, 1920, pp.398, 434; *idem*, 1923, pp.782, 790, 792, 796; Reichel, 1910, pp.238, 240-1, 247; *idem*, 1912a, p.13 no.16, p.24 no.36; London, 1965, p.15 no.45. The suggestion that the smaller of the two Domesday holdings called 'Kentisbeare' (DB 16,100) included what are now Halsbeer and Mortimer farms in the north-east of the parish (see Chalk, 1910a, p.331) gains support from the details of a grant by Ralph Boty of Blackborough Boty (now Ponchydown farm) of 1 *ferling* 'next to the land of John son of Reginald' to Cannonsleigh priory in c.1228x1243: London, 1965, p.16 no.48. It seems likely that John was the son of the Reginald de Punchardon who held Kentisbeare in c.1233, and that Ralph's grant dates from after John succeeded his father but before the prior of Christchurch granted this Kentisbeare to Hugh de Bollay, who was dead by c.1242: see Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.322; Reichel, 1912a, p.243 no.478.

holdings called Kentisbeare accounted for less than one of the roughly five hides recorded within the parish and, unless William had acquired the lands of one or perhaps two Anglo-Saxon *antecessores* who are unrecorded in Domesday Book, it would appear that the local pattern of land-holding had become highly fragmented by the late pre-Conquest period.⁴⁰⁷ William's holding at Aller lay to the south-west of Kentismoor and seems to have become part of the Peverell holding of Aller in Cullompton, while his holding at Blackborough was later given to Forde abbey; but the rest of his lands in Kentisbeare and Cullompton were usually treated as two halves of a single estate after the Conquest, and this may well perpetuate an earlier tenurial arrangement implicit in the presence of two 'Kentisbeares' and two 'Ponsfords' among the constituent holdings.⁴⁰⁸

The first that we hear of a church at Kentisbeare is in 1244, when Richard Cole, *persone ecclesie de Kentelesbere*, donated some property in Exeter to the cathedral chapter.⁴⁰⁹ Eight years later, the church was the subject of a settlement whereby Hamelin de Bollay quit-claimed the advowson to Henry son of Henry, and the fact that Henry paid £10 for this agreement implies that Hamelin's claim to at least some patronal rights in the church was a strong one.⁴¹⁰ At that time Hamelin and Henry were the respective lords of the two halves of Kentisbeare, Ponsford and Kingsford,⁴¹¹ so if they had both acquired a share of the advowson this probably means that the church had been founded initially either through corporate activity on the part of local landholders or at a time when these holdings were united in the hands of a single lord. The location of the present church and its glebe in close proximity to the manor associated with Henry and his successors need not provide a further clue in this instance, because bishop Bronescombe's dedication of three altars and a cemetery at Kentisbeare in 1259 suggests that Henry may have rebuilt the church *de novo*

⁴⁰⁷ For a summary of the debate regarding such *antecessores*, see Sawyer, 1998, pp.275-7.

⁴⁰⁸ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.322, 368, 382, 425, 487; *idem*, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31; *idem*, 1920, p.398; *idem*, 1923, p.786; Reichel, 1910, pp.235-7; *idem*, 1912a, p.243 no.478. For Aller in Kentisbeare: Reichel, 1910, pp.235-6, 245; Chalk, 1910a, pp.334-6; Thom & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,103; 32,3. Blackborough passed from Forde to Dunkeswell abbey in the early thirteenth century: Oliver, 1846, pp.395, 398; Hingston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Reichel, 1904, p.360.

⁴⁰⁹ Barlow, 1996b, pp.235-6 no.259.

⁴¹⁰ Reichel, 1912a, p.270 no.534. The assize summoned was one of *darrein presentement*, or 'last presentation'.

⁴¹¹ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.322; *idem*, 1920, p.786 (but note that *Catteshoghe* was probably part of Kingsford rather than being Catshayes in Gittisham: see Chalk, 1910a, p.336, *contra* Thom & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,97-100;102 note).

following his settlement with Hamelin.⁴¹² Nevertheless, it seems highly probable that the earlier church had developed from a private foundation of one or more local landholders, and therefore one that had been established within the area previously served by another church. While the most obvious candidate for this mother church would be the minster at Cullompton, firm evidence in support of this suggestion is lacking. However, Cullompton's parochial detachment at Henland, 'the estate of the monks' that formed one of the prebends of Cullompton church, is more likely to represent the retention of existing parochial rights when Kentisbeare's parish was established than the acquisition of such rights at a later date, and this would seem to indicate that Kentisbeare had indeed once formed part of Cullompton's original parish.

To the north-east of Kentisbeare there was a third Domesday holding called 'Blackborough', which had passed from Alnoth to Ralph of Pomeroy after the Conquest.⁴¹³ There seems to have been a church or chapel here by the early 1170s, when Ranulph the priest of *Blacaburga* occurs as a charter witness, and Blackborough was certainly recognised as a separate parish by the late thirteenth century if not before.⁴¹⁴ The parish was apparently coterminous with the manor and the manorial lords were the church patrons in all the surviving institution records, while the site of the old parish church (or chapel, as it was sometimes called) and its churchyard, already in ruins by the early seventeenth century, was beside the former manor house at Allhallows farm.⁴¹⁵ This evidence strongly suggests that Blackborough church originated as a manorial chapel, probably in or before the second half of the twelfth century. Blackborough's position, lying to the north of its two namesakes in Kentisbeare but just within Hayridge Hundred, also suggests

⁴¹² Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.67; *idem*, 1892, p.225; *idem*, 1899, p.1474; Reichel, 1910, p.236 & n55; Chalk, 1910a, pp.279, 294, 314, 317ff. None of the surviving fabric in the present church need pre-date the fourteenth century and most is later: Chalk, 1910a, pp.294ff, 305, 311; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.514.

⁴¹³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,20.

⁴¹⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453; London, 1965, pp.2-3 no.12. After the early 1240s Blackborough and the adjacent 'Kentisbeare' holding had the same manorial lord (Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.398; *idem*, 1923, pp.786, 791; London, 1965, p.16 no.48; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,100), so Blackborough may have become a separate parish before this time.

⁴¹⁵ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.258-9 (and citing Pole, d.1636, for the ruinous state of the church); Caley, 1814, p.311; Oliver, 1846, p.476; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.118; *idem*, 1899, pp.1271, 1291, 1339; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.368, 425; *idem*, 1923, p.791; Reichel, 1910, p.237; Chalk, 1910b, pp.346-7ff; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.564; Orme, 1996, p.134. The present church was built on a new site in 1837-8: Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.187.

that it was associated more closely with Kentisbeare than with Uffculme. Although we cannot be certain, therefore, it seems highly likely that Blackborough had acquired its parochial independence at the expense of Kentisbeare or its mother church at Cullompton.

On the high ground to the east of Kentisbeare is the parish of Sheldon, a place-name that derives from Old English *scylf-denu* and can be translated as 'level plateau (cut by) a long, narrow valley with steep sides'.⁴¹⁶ It is a perfect description of Sheldon's parish, the western half of which lies on the Blackdown plateau while the eastern half encompasses the head of a valley from which the Craddock stream flows northwards to join the river Culm mid-way between Culmstock and Uffculme.⁴¹⁷ Administratively, Sheldon was linked to the areas to its west and south rather than with those to the east or north in the late eleventh century, because the order of entries in *Exon Domesday* strongly suggests that the Domesday holding of Sheldon - one hide held by Alric in 1066 and, like Blackborough, by Ralph of Pomeroy in 1086 - lay in Silverton Hundred.⁴¹⁸ Joscelin de Pomeroy gave Sheldon to the monks of St Peter's at Gloucester in the early twelfth century, from whom both the manor and its church had passed to Dunkeswell abbey by the 1240s, and the *Taxatio* of c.1291 records Sheldon as then forming part of the rural deanery of Dunkeswell.⁴¹⁹ This association with the deanery to the east of Sheldon, rather than with that of Plymtree to the west, deserves further comment. It might reflect an ecclesiastical relationship that already existed when the rural deaneries were beginning to emerge in the late twelfth century and could indicate an earlier parochial affiliation between Sheldon and Dunkeswell church, itself apparently once subject to a mother church at Hemyock or Culmstock.⁴²⁰ The use of such

⁴¹⁶ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p. 569; Mills, 1998, p.308; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.113-4, 216ff.

⁴¹⁷ For the Craddock stream, see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.538, 612 n1; Hooke, 1994, p.138.

⁴¹⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,19 & ch.34 notes.

⁴¹⁹ Hart, 1863-7, i, pp.88, 113, 123; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.71, 453, 474; Johnson & Cronne, 1956, pp.113-14 no.1041; Robinson, 1995, pp.114-15 no.333; see also Youings, 1955, pp.62-4 no.68, 101-2 no.98.

⁴²⁰ For the development of the rural deaneries, see chapter 2.2 above (at pp.36-7). It seems probable that Dunkeswell had lain within the original parish of the mother church serving Hemyock and Culmstock, noted above, although a relationship to another possible 'superior' church at Upottery cannot be entirely ruled out. For the main details relating to Dunkeswell, see: Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.333; Oliver, 1846, pp.395-6; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.67, 71, 133, 453, 474; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.338, 430; Reichel, 1912a, pp.19-20 no.27; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 24,1; 34,25; Robinson, 1995, pp.114-5 nos.332-3, 142-3 no.409; Barlow, 1996b, p.220 no.243.

evidence is dubious, however; it is equally possible that the deanery of Dunkeswell reflects local developments during the first half of the thirteenth century, when the parish churches of both Sheldon and Dunkeswell were appropriated to Dunkeswell abbey. What does seem likely is that Sheldon's church developed from a manorial chapel that was already parochially independent of its mother church before the manor passed to Dunkeswell abbey; but the lack of unambiguous evidence means that we cannot at present identify that mother church.

* * *

The parish of Broadhembury spans the upper reaches of two adjacent river valleys, the north of the parish lying in the upper valley of the river Weaver, a tributary of the Culm, and the rest of the parish lying in that of the river Tale, a tributary of the Otter. The two Domesday holdings that can be located within the parish roughly correspond to these two topographical areas, although it should also be noted that the lands of Uggaton manor in Payhembury extended into the southern part of Broadhembury parish in the sixteenth century and may have done so previously.⁴²¹ The holding in the Weaver valley comprised two hides at Kerswell that had passed from Merleswein to a sub-tenant of Ralph Pagnell after the Conquest.⁴²² Kerswell was one of several holdings in the area that Henry I gave to the Peverells; but Matilda Peverell granted it to Montacute priory, who by the late 1120s had established a small cell at Kerswell that remained in the patronage of the Peverells until the early fourteenth century.⁴²³ The other Domesday holding was that of Broadhembury itself, which comprised four hides held by Brictric before the Conquest and by Odo son of Gamelin in 1086, from whom it descended to William of Torrington.⁴²⁴ Broadhembury was one of three adjacent holdings called 'Hembury' in Domesday,

⁴²¹ Youings, 1955, pp.86-8 no.85; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 52,22.

⁴²² Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 32,2.

⁴²³ Holmes *et al*, 1894, pp.171-2 no.141, 174-5 no.146, 177 nos.150-1; Reichel, 1910, pp.244-5; Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.96; Bearman, 1994, app.I, p.157 no.3; see also Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.211 no.1141; Youings, 1955, pp.88-9 no.86.

⁴²⁴ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 42,16; see also Reichel, 1897c, pp.493, 497; *idem*, 1910, p.238. Domesday notes that one hide at Shapcombe (in Luppitt, Axminster Hundred, lying outside the present survey area) had been illegally detached from Brictric's holding after the Conquest: Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 23,20; 42,16. This does not appear

the others being those later known as Uggaton and Payhembury, and this triple recurrence of the same place-name almost certainly indicates that these three holdings, although lying in two different parishes, had once comprised a single land-unit.⁴²⁵ The place-name derives from Old English *hēan-byrig*, meaning '(at) the high fortified place', and the referent was Hembury hillfort, a massive Iron Age earthwork sited on a long spur of the Blackdown plateau that forms the watershed between the Tale valley to the west and the Wolf valley to the east.⁴²⁶

William of Torrington granted Broadhembury manor to his uncle William Briwere, who at some point before his monastic retirement in 1224 granted it to the abbey he had founded at Dunkeswell in 1201.⁴²⁷ Yet although Dunkeswell abbey acquired the manor, the advowson of Broadhembury church was retained by William Briwere and his heirs, and in 1275 there was an institution to the rectory at which Edward I acted as patron because of his wardship of lands belonging to the late Joan de Ferlingston, one of William Briwere's granddaughters.⁴²⁸ Shortly after this, however, bishop Quinel (1280-1291) seems to have acquired the church and begun moves to appropriate it to the dean and chapter of Exeter, and the ordination of a vicarage for Broadhembury during Quinel's episcopacy, probably in c.1286, shows the church in their possession even though the actual appropriation may not have been effected until after 1291.⁴²⁹

Yet although none of the surviving fabric is older than the fourteenth century, the details of this vicarage ordination and the information from other sources, such as the royal confirmation

to have been an outlying part of Broadhembury, but was probably associated with it for administrative convenience because Brictric held no other lands in Axminster Hundred. The only other land in Axminster Hundred held by a 'Brictric' in 1066 was 1 virgate at Wyke Green in Axminster (*ibid.*, DB 52,24); it passed to Odo son of Edric (who seems to have retained some of his father's lands, including part of Payhembury) after the Conquest, and appears to have had no connection with the Brictric who held Broadhembury, Shapcombe and Plymtree. For the possibility that Odo son of Gamelin's *antecessore* 'Brictric' was Beorhtric son of Ælfgar Mæw, see Williams, 1997, *passim* (esp. pp.43-4, 49-50, 61-2, 65, but *cf.* p.50 n34); for a different view, see Clarke, 1994, pp.41-2, 119, 133, 260-5.

⁴²⁵ For discussion of the 'Hembury' holdings later known as Uggaton and Payhembury, see below.

⁴²⁶ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.557-8, 566; Mills, 1998, pp.56, 268.

⁴²⁷ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.70, 95; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, p.2; *idem*, 1923, p.1263; Reichel, 1910, p.238; Colvin, 1951, p.158.

⁴²⁸ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.120, 491; Maxwell-Lyte, 1906a, no.107; *idem*, 1920, pp. 395, 398; Sanders, 1960, p.123; Robinson, 1999, p.75 no.1050; see also London, 1965, pp.22-3 no.67, which suggests that the rector was resident in his parish.

⁴²⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.338-9, 342 n4, 387, 390-1, 453; *idem*, 1892, p.197; *idem*, 1894, p.571; *idem*, 1897, p.759; see also Caley, 1814, pp.294, 312; Reichel, 1910, p.239.

of William Briwere's grant and the *Taxatio*, allow us to be confident that the history of Broadhembury church considerably pre-dates the early thirteenth century.⁴³⁰ Firstly, the ordination of the vicarage refers to rents due from established tenants then living on the glebe, part of which lay 'between the lands of the abbot and convent of Dunkeswell', and it is clear that this glebe must have been established before Broadhembury manor was granted to the abbey in 1201x1224.⁴³¹ A further clue is provided by a fine made in 1224 when Avice, the widow of William of Torrington, quit-claimed her right of dower in one-third of the rent from a free tenement in Broadhembury to the tenant, Geoffrey Coffin.⁴³² Although this raises the question of what happened to the other two-thirds of the rent, it is apparent that Avice had retained some property rights in Broadhembury after her husband's grant of the manor and its subsequent acquisition by Dunkeswell abbey. Yet the royal confirmation of 1227 makes it clear that Geoffrey Coffin's sub-holding at Luton (in the south-west of Broadhembury parish) formed part of Broadhembury manor and had been included in William Briwere's grant to Dunkeswell.⁴³³ The situation is perhaps most readily explained if Avice held the advowson in dower and Geoffrey was one of the tenants of the glebe as well as of the manor, with the remainder of his glebe rent being paid to the church; if correct, this would show that there was already a distinction between the tenures of the church and the manor before the time of the grant to William Briwere.

Secondly, the ordination of c.1286 assigned to the vicar two houses belonging to the church, one of which was that of a former parochial chaplain; but the wording carries an implication that the vicar was not assigned the entire extent of the glebe, which may indicate that this was or had been shared in some way. These two houses, which seem to have lain close to the church, were not the only buildings associated with the church, because there were also references to a

⁴³⁰ For the fabric, see Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.217.

⁴³¹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.339, 391.

⁴³² Reichel, 1912a, pp.71-2 no.137. Most of William of Torrington's lands passed to his uncle, Matthew, after whose death in 1227 they were divided between Matthew's five sisters: see Sanders, 1960, pp.48-9.

⁴³³ Broadhembury manor was 'to be held by the abbot together with the service and homage of Geoffrey Coffin and his heirs for the land which the said Geoffrey held of the said William [Briwere] in *Levinton* as appurtenant to the manor of *Hembiri*: Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, p.2. For the derivation of *Levinton*, see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.558.

separate chapel and a hall in a visitation made on behalf of the dean and chapter of Exeter in 1303.⁴³⁴ These details hint at the former presence of two priests serving Broadhembury, and the scale of provision certainly suggests that this was more than simply a manorial chapel that had developed to become an independent parish church. If so, then it seems probable that the *Johanne et Ricardo, sacerdotibus Henberie*, who occur among the witnesses to a charter of 1185 were priests serving the church of Broadhembury rather than that of Payhembury, even though both places could be referred to as simply 'Hembury' in contemporary documents.⁴³⁵

Thirdly, the combined value of the church and its vicarage was nearly £13 in the *Taxatio* of c.1291, a sum that was exceeded in this part of the present survey area only by the churches at Cullompton, Broadclyst and Ottery St Mary.⁴³⁶ Broadhembury was neither a borough nor a town and acquired a market and fair only in 1290, so this high valuation for its church should certainly be considered as a potential indicator of former 'superior' status.⁴³⁷ By contrast, it is also notable that in 1535 it ranked only sixth among the churches of the Plymtree deanery and had a lower valuation than several others in the immediate vicinity, which suggests that the relative wealth of Broadhembury church in 1291 was at least in part due to factors in its past that did not continue into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴³⁸

None of these fragments of evidence is conclusive in itself, but when taken together they indicate that Broadhembury was a locally important and wealthy church served by two priests in the late twelfth century. In addition, it does not appear to have originated as a manorial chapel and seems to have been held separately from the manor within which it was located, even though it was clearly in the hands of the manorial lord by the early thirteenth century. These indicators provide strong grounds for suggesting that Broadhembury was a 'superior' church of pre-

⁴³⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1892, p.197.

⁴³⁵ Weaver, 1909, pp.136-7 no.238. For the evidence relating to the early history of Payhembury church and further discussion of this charter, see below.

⁴³⁶ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.453; see also Appendix I below.

⁴³⁷ For king Edward I's grant of a market and fair for Broadhembury, see Oliver, 1846, p.394.

⁴³⁸ Caley, 1814, pp.294, 311-2.

Conquest origin. With this likelihood in mind, it may be significant that the ordination of c.1286 records that the vicar is to procure the *cremagii*, the chrism or baptismal oil, a duty that is mentioned again in a visitation of 1330.⁴³⁹ Although every parish priest would require this, the duty of procuring it is not explicitly referred to in any of the other surviving records of contemporary ordinations or visitations relating to churches and vicarages in the present survey area, so the fact that it is specifically noted with respect to Broadhembury suggests that it had a particular importance to this church. It may indicate the vestige of a local responsibility - one normally associated with a mother church.⁴⁴⁰ In any event, the probability that Broadhembury originated as a minster - either as an independent one or as the parochial chapel of a minster elsewhere - means that it may once have served an area larger than its nineteenth-century parish.

We cannot tell if Broadhembury's putative original parish included Sheldon parish to the north, but that of Kentisbeare seems to have been part of Cullompton's original parish. To the east, Dunkeswell parish is also apparently accounted for by a mother church elsewhere. The same may be true for the parish of Awliscombe, lying beyond the Hembury spur and in the valley of the river Wolf, a tributary of the Otter. However, Awliscombe cannot be considered in isolation from Buckerell and Gittisham because of the complex toponymic, parochial, hundredal and tenurial relationships between them, and these require a more detailed and comprehensive study than can be presented here.⁴⁴¹ Nevertheless, a provisional assessment based on my research to date suggests that the churches of Buckerell and Gittisham originated as manorial chapels within the original parish of a 'superior' church at Awliscombe, although it is just possible that Gittisham

⁴³⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1894, pp.503 n4, 571.

⁴⁴⁰ See e.g. Addleshaw, 1954, p.12; Blair, 1988, pp.2, 13; Bond, 1988, p.156 n60; Hase, 1988, pp.61, 64 n34.

⁴⁴¹ Domesday records no fewer than fifteen holdings located within these three parishes, of which the largest was at Gittisham, lying to the south of the river Otter in Budleigh Hundred; to the north of the river lay six holdings in Hemyock Hundred called 'Awliscombe'; while the eight remaining holdings were called simply 'Ottery', of which two lay in Budleigh Hundred, two in Hemyock Hundred, and the other four constituted an outlier of Tiverton Hundred. These holdings were divided between three tenants-in-chief in 1086 - Gotshelm, William Chevre and his brother Ralph of Pomeroy: Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 19,25-7; 19,32; 19,34; 19,42-3; 25,14-15; 34,23-4; 34,26; 34,32; 34,45; 34,47. The post-Conquest holdings of the Pomeroy family seem to be largely responsible for the convoluted parish boundaries, for which see DRO Buckerell tithe map (c.1845) [=PRO IR 30/9/76], Gittisham tithe map (1838) [=PRO IR 30/9/189]. The DRO 'diocesan copy' of the Awliscombe tithe map (1840) is classed as 'unfit for production' and the whereabouts of the 'parochial copy' are unknown; the 'exchequer copy' is PRO IR 30/9/23.

had been 'captured' from the original parish of another mother church. Awliscombe church itself seems most likely to have originated as a parochial chapel of a minster in the Otter valley, almost certainly at Upottery.

What is important for present purposes is that none of the available evidence suggests that there was any parochial link between the churches of Awliscombe and Broadhembury. In other words, if Broadhembury originated as a parochial chapel rather than as an independent minster, then its mother church is highly unlikely to have lain to the east of the Hembury spur. Similarly, if Broadhembury minster had once served an area larger than its nineteenth-century parish and perhaps that of Sheldon, then that area must have included one or both of the parishes of Plymtree to the west and of Payhembury to the south. As the shared 'Hembury' place-name strongly suggests that the Domesday holdings of Broadhembury, Uggaton and Payhembury were once a single land-unit, it is to this part of the Tale valley that we should now turn our attention.

* * *

Payhembury parish spans the full width of the middle Tale valley, from the Hembury spur and the upper stream of the river Vine Water in the east across to the western side of the low hills that separate the Tale and Clyst valleys. Of the five Domesday holdings that can be located within the parish, two were called 'Tale' and lay to the west of the river; and although they were held separately in 1066, both the shared place-name and the topography make it almost certain that they had once constituted a single land-unit.⁴⁴² Both holdings passed to the Pomeroyes after the Conquest, and the demesne was granted to Forde abbey in c.1194 when Joscelin de Pomeroy was forced to take monastic retirement after being found guilty of treason against Richard I.⁴⁴³ However, Joscelin's grant was not made in free alms and did not include all the lands within Tale, which gave rise to numerous disagreements between the abbey and the Pomeroyes as well as with

⁴⁴² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,21-2.

⁴⁴³ Oliver, 1846, p.346 no.iii; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.474-5; Reichel, 1910, p.238; Youings, 1955, pp.47-8 no.52; Hobbs, 1998, p.96 nos.362 & 365.

other landholders and the hundred court of Hayridge.⁴⁴⁴ In particular, there was a prolonged dispute during the mid-thirteenth century between Forde abbey and various rectors of Payhembury in which both sides claimed the rights to certain tithes and lands within Tale.⁴⁴⁵ A jury eventually decided that these belonged to Payhembury church and not to the abbey's manor and chapel at Tale, and the judgement suggests that the church already possessed glebe-land in Tale when Joscelin granted the manor to Forde in c.1194. Nevertheless, this decision did not mark the end of the dispute and in many ways Tale looks like a 'proto-parish', a manorial chapel that failed in a belated attempt to achieve parochial independence.

The remaining three Domesday holdings associated with Payhembury parish all lay to the east of the river Tale; the two then called 'Hembury' have already been mentioned above and we shall return to them shortly. The third Domesday holding within the parish was called *Cherletone*, which descended from one of the count of Mortain's sub-tenants in 1086 to an eponymous local family by the thirteenth century; the name is preserved in those of Lower Cheriton in Payhembury parish and Higher Cheriton in Feniton parish, but it is not known whether only the former or both of these places had formed part of the Domesday holding.⁴⁴⁶ Of the two 'Hembury' holdings, the smaller one was that later known as Uggaton, which passed from Edric to his son Odo after the Conquest and thence to the Dune family, who granted all or part of it to Dunkeswell abbey.⁴⁴⁷ The larger holding was that of Payhembury itself. The post-Conquest holder was one of sheriff Baldwin's subtenants, Rainer, and like several of his holdings it probably had Roger de Langeford as its middle lord in c.1166, but its subsequent tenurial history

⁴⁴⁴ Reichel, 1912a, pp.130 no.264, 279-80 no.550; Hobbs, 1998, pp.97-8 nos.370-3, 99-100 nos.375-9, 105 no.395.

⁴⁴⁵ Oliver, 1846, pp.339, 348; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.161; Reichel, 1912a, p.343 no.671; Barlow, 1996b, p.281 no.315.3; Hobbs, 1998, p.98 no.374; Robinson, 1999, p.53 no.885.

⁴⁴⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 15,63 (*contra* Reichel, 1910, p.234); see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.368, 425; *idem*, 1923, p.782; Reichel, 1906, pp.349-50. The place-name derives not from Old English *cirice-tūn* 'estate with a church', as the modern form might suggest, but from *ceorla-tūn*, meaning 'the estate (or farmstead) of the free peasants': Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.566; see also Cameron, 1996, p.136.

⁴⁴⁷ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,22; Oliver, 1846, pp.394, 395-6 no.ii; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474-5; Maxwell-Lyte, 1904, p.34 no.141; Reichel, 1910, p.248 (albeit with chronological error); Youings, 1955, pp.86-8 no.85.

is not entirely clear.⁴⁴⁸ The main holding was in the hands of the Giffards by the 1240s and remained so until the early fourteenth century, but sub-holdings at Milton and Upton were held by the Coffin family in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and another sub-holding at Cokesputt was acquired by Polsloe priory before the late 1260s.⁴⁴⁹

There are similar uncertainties regarding the origins of Payhembury church, although the dispute with Forde abbey implies that the church already possessed parochial rights by the late twelfth century and its relatively low valuation in c.1291 does not, in a local context, suggest that it had been of 'superior' status.⁴⁵⁰ The earliest reference to the advowson is a settlement between William le Prouz and William de Widworthy in 1262 that allowed the latter to present his clerk to the church on that occasion, after which William le Prouz, his wife Alice and their heirs would have sole possession of the advowson; we know from other sources that Alice was in fact William de Widworthy's daughter.⁴⁵¹ A later *inspeximus* issued by Alice's son, William le Prouz junior, shows that after her husband died in c.1269 Alice sold all her lands in Payhembury to bishop Bronescombe, who occurs as the church patron in 1272 and subsequently granted the advowson to Forde abbey (thereby bringing the dispute between the abbey and the rectors to an effective end).⁴⁵² What remains unexplained is how Alice de Widworthy or her family had come to hold the advowson of Payhembury church, together with at least some lands within its parish,

⁴⁴⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,95; Hall, 1896, i, p.252; Reichel, 1910, p.234; see also Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16,8;133-4;135 notes.

⁴⁴⁹ Pipe Roll Society, 1888, p.95; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474-5; Reichel, 1897c, p.493 no.500, 497 no.581; *idem*, 1912a, pp.340-2 nos.668-9; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.321, 368, 424, 481; *idem*, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31; *idem*, 1923, p.786; Youings, 1955, pp.34-5 no.41; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.267-8. The Feniton charter of 1185, discussed below, shows that Roger Coffin held land in the southern part of Payhembury parish, in the area now known as Milton (see Weaver, 1909, pp.136-7 no.238) while Upton, which lies just to the south of Uggaton, was sold by Alice Coffin to William Prudhom in 1238: see Reichel, 1912a, pp.128-9 no.261, 155 no.310.

⁴⁵⁰ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.454; cf. fig. 2.2 above.

⁴⁵¹ Reichel, 1912a, p.317 no.622 (an endorsement notes that the abbot of Westminster also claimed to have some right in the church; the basis for this claim is not known, and it is not referred to again). In 1291 William le Prouz junior was able to claim the Widworthy family estates because his mother Alice was the sister of Hugh de Widworthy: Benson, 1940, pp.179-80 (*contra* Reichel, 1915, p.216; but Benson's suggestion that William le Prouz senior had a second wife, Alice Ferrers, cannot be sustained because Alice de Widworthy survived her husband). On the descent see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.142, 151, 345; *idem*, 1892, pp.218, 232-3; Reichel *et al.*, 1939, pp.251-2 no.1199, 348-9 no.1363. That Hugh de Widworthy's heirs are mentioned in c.1285 shows that he was already dead by then: see Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.321.

⁴⁵² Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.268 n*; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.161, 350, 454; *idem*, 1892, p.241; Maxwell-Lyte, 1904, p.236 no.740; Youings, 1955, pp.34-5 no.41; Robinson, 1999, p.53 no.885.

by the early 1260s. However, the fact that the rector of Payhembury was referred to as being that of 'Hembury Coffin' in the late thirteenth century suggests that the church was once associated, at least in part, with the Coffin family.⁴⁵³ The last mention of the Coffin family's holding within the parish is in 1238, when Elias Coffin's widow, Alice, sold land at Upton in Payhembury to William Prudhom.⁴⁵⁴ It is possible, therefore, that it was the remainder of the Coffin's holding that passed to the de Widworthy family, either by sale or by inheritance, but more evidence would be needed to establish the connection.

These ambiguities mean that any conclusions are necessarily tentative ones. It appears that Payhembury church was founded before the late twelfth century; but if it originated as a manorial chapel then it does not seem to have been one associated with the main holding within the parish. Another possibility is that it had been founded as the result of corporate action on the part of local landholders, in a manner similar to that suggested for Kentisbeare church. Neither alternative explains the connection with the de Widworthy family, but the inclusion of Tale within Payhembury's parish and the likelihood that the church possessed glebe in Tale, which was not tenurially connected with the other Payhembury holdings, might point more towards a corporate foundation. In either case, it seems likely that such a church would represent a local and later foundation within the original parish of a mother church elsewhere. Whether that mother church was the possible minster at Broadhembury, as the recurrence of the place-name 'Hembury' in the eastern parts of both parishes suggests, remains uncertain. However, the evidence relating to Feniton parish, immediately to the south of Payhembury, provides considerable support for this suggestion.

There were two Domesday holdings within Feniton parish - one of three hides at Feniton held in 1066 by Edmer Ator or one of his subtenants, the other of one hide at Curscombe held by Invar - but after the Conquest both passed to Drogo, a subtenant of Robert count of Mortain,

⁴⁵³ Nicholas de Honiton, who was instituted as rector to *Payhembury* in 1272, is elsewhere referred to as rector of *Hambyri Coffin*: see Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.100, 161& n9.

⁴⁵⁴ Reichel, 1912a, p.155 no.310; see also *idem*, pp.128-9 no.26; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.368.

and apparently were treated as a single manor thereafter.⁴⁵⁵ Drogo's estates later formed the honour of Montacute, from which Feniton manor was held by the Malherb family from at least the late twelfth century until the fifteenth century.⁴⁵⁶ For Feniton church, the earliest recorded institution was by collation in 1264, but in later records the advowson is held by the Malherbs as manorial lords; and although we cannot be certain the suspicion must be that it had developed from a manorial chapel.⁴⁵⁷ In any case, the charter of 1185 that mentions the 'priests of Hembury' also refers to the 'parish of Feniton', which implies that the church existed by this time.⁴⁵⁸

It is worth considering this charter in more detail. It records a grant in free alms by William de Malherb of twenty-five acres from the north-western part of Feniton parish to the brethren of Buckland priory, a preceptory of the Hospitallers in Somerset. What is of particular interest to us, however, is not the actual transaction but the composition of the witness-list.⁴⁵⁹ The first name is that of John *decano*. We are not told of which religious institution he was dean, which suggests that his position was sufficiently obvious for this to be unnecessary, while the presence towards the end of the witness-list of 'Ralph and Robert the dean's brothers' may imply that 'John the dean' was a local man. As the office of dean in the Exeter chapter was not yet established, it seems likely that John was the dean of the nascent rural deanery of Plymtree, witnessing the alienation of secular land to the Hospitallers as the most senior local ecclesiast present.⁴⁶⁰

If so, then what are we to make of the seniority accorded to the second and third names in the witness-list, the 'John and Richard, priests of Hembury' who were identified above as most

⁴⁵⁵ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 15,34; 15,62.

⁴⁵⁶ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.321, 367, 424, 487; *idem*, 1923, p.782; Reichel, 1906, pp.348-9; *idem*, 1910, p.234; Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.168 no.1061. The only exception was in c.1274, when Robert le Peytevin occurs as either the holder or the middle lord: *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.71.

⁴⁵⁷ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.81-2, 141, 454; *idem*, 1892, p.217; *idem*, 1897, pp.628ff; *idem*, 1899, p.1342; Robinson, 1999, p.6 no.518; but cf Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.168 no.1061.

⁴⁵⁸ Weaver, 1909, pp.136-7 no.238.

⁴⁵⁹ The full witness-list is: *Johanne decano, Johanne et Ricardo, sacerdotibus Henberie, Willelmo Peverel, Rogero Coffin, Johanne et Olivero [et] Ricardo filiis meis, Jordano Walense, Willelmo Lufre, Cole et Ada de Sireford, Engelfrei Hugone filii Godrici, Henrico filio Ricardi, Roberto de Hocles, Radulpho et Roberto fratribus decani, Ricardo clerico, Roberto de Snarepunt et parochia de Finetuna.*

⁴⁶⁰ For the development of rural deaneries, see chapter 2.2 above (at p.37). In most witness-lists of the late 1170s and 1180s, the rural deans attest after the archdeacons and vice-archdeacons if present, but before the other clergy and lay witnesses: e.g. Weaver, 1909, pp.158 no.283, 159 no.285, 163-4 no.298; Barlow, 1996b, pp.153-4 no.170n; Hobbs, 1998, p.22 no.84; cf Barlow, 1996a, pp.123-4 no.134. Note that Exeter was *sede vacante* in 1185: Barlow, 1996a, p.xli.

probably being the priests serving Broadhembury minster? Because seniority it is; their names take precedence over those of William Peverel and Roger Coffin, who both came from important Devonian land-holding families and, as the charter boundary shows, both of whom held land (in Talaton and Payhembury parishes respectively) adjacent to that of William Malherb. William and Roger were clearly people who could treat with William Malherb as an equal in local affairs, and as such they themselves took precedence over his sons John, Oliver and Richard. Although many of the remaining names in the witness-list are harder to identify, the Cole and Ada[m] *de Sireford* who occur further down the list were apparently minor landholders associated with Sherwood in Feniton, lying just to the east of the land being granted to the Hospitallers.⁴⁶¹ This witness-list effectively fossilises the contemporary local social hierarchy, yet the very last name on the list is not a person at all but an institution, the 'parish of Feniton'. This is analogous to the witness of 'the hundred' that occurs in some other charters and suggests that the general assent of the local social unit was needed, although it is surprising that no-one in the witness-list can be identified as being the incumbent of Feniton church, unless perhaps this was 'Richard the clerk'.

With these observations in mind, let us return to the problem of John and Richard, the two putative priests of Broadhembury minster. Why was their testimony as ecclesiasts needed in addition to that of the rural dean and of the 'parish of Feniton', and why was it accorded such a high seniority in terms of the local social hierarchy? The most straightforward explanation would seem to be that their approval and witness were required because Feniton was, or until recently had been, under their ecclesiastical authority, and that authority remained a potent force within local affairs. In other words, the charter of 1185 suggests that Feniton parish was once part of Broadhembury's original parish. If this is the case, then it is almost certain that Payhembury, lying between Feniton and Broadhembury, would also have formed part of that original parish, as was suggested by the recurrence of the place-name 'Hembury' discussed above.

⁴⁶¹ For the development from 'Shireford' to Sherwood, see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.563.

In so far as we can tell from the surviving evidence, therefore, it seems probable that the later parishes of Broadhembury, Payhembury and Feniton had once lain within the original parish served by a minster at Broadhembury. This original parish had included none of the parishes further to the east, so it would appear that its eastern boundary had adopted, or had been adopted by, the boundary of Silverton (later Hayridge) Hundred implied by the Domesday evidence. The central part of this boundary was dominated by the Hembury spur; but to the south of this, portions of the eastern boundaries of both Feniton and Payhembury parishes are formed by branches of the river Vine Water, and although Curscombe lies partly to the east of these it does occupy the valley formed by the main branch of the river. This is notable because the river-name 'Vine' and the first element of the place-name 'Feniton' derive from a British or Primitive Cornish word cognate with Old Cornish *fyn*, which itself is derived from the Latin *finis* meaning 'boundary'.⁴⁶² Such a river-name must have been coined before Primitive Cornish ceased to be spoken within Exeter's hinterland and suggests that the area around the Vine Water had once lain on the boundary of a pre-English land-unit, although there is not yet sufficient evidence for us to develop such speculation further. Nevertheless, for present purposes it is also important to note that the southern boundary of Feniton parish corresponds to the boundary delineated by the charter of 1061 by which Edward the Confessor granted Ottery St Mary to the cathedral church of St Mary at Rouen.⁴⁶³ There are several reasons, discussed below at a later stage, for supposing that Ottery St Mary was itself a mother church or was dependent on one lying further to the south, in which case this pre-Conquest charter boundary would also appear to define the southernmost extent of Broadhembury's original parish in the eastern side of the Tale valley. In addition, we have already seen that the original parish of Cullompton minster, which very probably included Kentisbeare parish and, although the status of Sheldon parish is uncertain, this

⁴⁶² Ekwall, 1928, p.429; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, p.15; ii, p.563; Padel, 1985, p.98; Mills, 1998, p.137.

⁴⁶³ S 1033; Hooke, 1994, pp.207-12.

effectively limits the possible extent of Broadhembury minster's ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the north-west. The only lands left to consider are those lying to the west of the river Tale.

* * *

The two Domesday holdings within Talaton parish, at Talaton and Larkbeare, lay in Silverton and Clifton hundreds respectively and adjacent to the manorial hundred of Ottery. For similar reasons to those noted with regard to Feniton it seems unlikely that Talaton parish had lain within an original parish that included that of Ottery St Mary, because the bounds of the Ottery charter of 1061 follow major features - the Roman road and the river Tale - that also delineate the parish boundary between Ottery and Talaton here. To the north and east of Talaton, however, lie parishes that were probably in Broadhembury's original parish while to the west the parish of Whimple apparently lay in the original parish of a minster at Broadclyst.⁴⁶⁴ It therefore seems likely that Talaton would once have been associated with one of these two mother churches; but while its position within the Tale rather than the Clyst valley seems to favour an association with Broadhembury, further evidence in support of this suggestion is limited.

The main Domesday holding within the parish was that of Talaton, which bishop Leofric held in 1066 and one Robert as the tenant of bishop Osbern in 1086.⁴⁶⁵ The Peverells were the main episcopal tenants there during the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries and institution records show that by the late thirteenth century the Peverells also held the advowson.⁴⁶⁶ The likelihood that the church originated as a manorial chapel is emphasised by its position, set slightly away from Talaton village near a farmhouse with a late medieval core and called 'The Old Manor'; and

⁴⁶⁴ There is good evidence to indicate the existence of a former minster at Broadclyst: see pp.144-5 above. Although the topographical and toponymic evidence relating to Whimple's inclusion in Broadclyst's original parish cannot be presented at the present time, see also Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.190; *idem*, 1894, pp.377-8; Maxwell-Lyte, 1906b, pp.50-3 no.71; Reichel, 1898a, pp.283-5; *idem*, 1939, p.378; *idem et al*, 1939, pp.65-6 no.877 (omitted by Orme, 1996, p.216); Youings, 1955, pp.4-7 no.7; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 16,94.

⁴⁶⁵ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 2,14.

⁴⁶⁶ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.270; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.71; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.357; *idem*, 1899, p.1306; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.321, 337 (see also pp.368, 382, 424, 487); *idem*, 1903, pp.17-18; Weaver, 1909, pp.136-7 no.238; Reichel, 1912a, pp.147-8 no.294; Dunstan, 1966, p.29; cf. Barlow, 1996a, pp.98-100 no.110.

although no early fabric appears to have survived the Victorian restorations of the church, the presence of a Norman table-type font suggests that Talaton was a church with rights of baptism before the late twelfth century.⁴⁶⁷ Any further discussion, however, needs to take account of the second of the Domesday holdings, which was at Larkbeare in the south-west of the parish. After the Conquest it had passed from Ulf to Alfred the Breton, who by 1086 had appropriated an adjacent half-hide also called Larkbeare that had previously formed part of the Domesday holding of Whimple, and this combined 'Larkbeare' holding apparently lay in Cliston Hundred in 1086.⁴⁶⁸ However, later records show that it was also regarded as lying partly in the parishes of both Whimple and Talaton, and this appears to have caused at least one dispute over tithes between the rectors of Whimple and Talaton in the fourteenth century.⁴⁶⁹

There are potentially conflicting - although not necessarily mutually exclusive - indicators here. On the one hand, Alfred's original holding and the appropriated half-hide were both called 'Larkbeare' in Domesday, which strongly suggests that they once constituted a single land-unit, albeit one that had become divided in the pre-Conquest period. That both parts lay in the same hundred may indicate that the putative division of 'Larkbeare' post-dated the formation of Cliston Hundred, but this could also represent a modification to the Domesday hundred for Alfred's convenience.⁴⁷⁰ On the other hand, 'Larkbeare' included land in two separate parishes, and this implies that the ecclesiastical boundary dividing its two parts existed before they were combined (or re-combined) to form Alfred's Domesday holding.

The question that we are left with is what did this pre-Conquest ecclesiastical boundary represent? There seem to be two realistic alternatives. If the independent parishes of both Whimple and Talaton already existed, then this ecclesiastical division of Larkbeare may simply

⁴⁶⁷ Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.777-8; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.272. Note, however, that a font is potentially movable and could have been transferred from another church at a later date.

⁴⁶⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 16.94; 39,10. See also *ibid.*, DB 15,60 note; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.272; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.367, 434, 491; *idem*, 1904, pp.204 no.650, 286 no.826; *idem*, 1923, p.1424; Reichel, 1912a, pp.153-4 no.308; *idem*, 1934, pp.378, 383; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.571.

⁴⁶⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1901, p.159 no.135; see also *ibid.*, p.41; *idem*, 1886, p.212.

⁴⁷⁰ There may have been a similar post-Conquest administrative concession relating to Nicholas de la Pole's Domesday holding of Staplehill in Ilsington parish, which became an outlier of Wonford Hundred: see p.164 above.

represent the parish boundary and does not provide any clue as to whether Talaton was originally associated with Broadclyst or with Broadhembury. If Talaton or Whimple still lay within the original parish of their respective mother church, however, then the most likely explanation would be that this ecclesiastical boundary was that between the original parishes of the churches at Broadclyst and Broadhembury. There is some evidence, noted above, to suggest that Whimple was still a chapelry of Broadclyst at the time of the Conquest, but this cannot be regarded as certain. Similarly, although Talaton church apparently originated as a manorial chapel that had acquired at least some parochial rights before the late twelfth century, we cannot be sure that this was an entirely post-Conquest development. Nevertheless, the balance of probabilities tends to support rather than contradict the inference made earlier on the basis of the natural topography, and suggests that in the pre-Conquest period Talaton is more likely to have lain within the original parish of Broadhembury than within that of Broadclyst.

* * *

So where does all this lead us? The preceding discussion has suggested that the original parish served by the minster at Broadhembury comprised the Tale and upper Weaver valleys, perhaps with an adjacent area of upland at Sheldon. Furthermore, this original parish seems to have a direct correspondence to the south-western part of Silverton Hundred. Although we do not yet know whether Broadhembury minster originated as an independent minster - either an 'old minster' or possibly one of more recent foundation - or as a parochial chapel of another mother church, it appears to have retained vestiges of its authority and a staff of two priests into at least the late twelfth century. Similarly, the earlier part of the discussion suggested that the original parish of Cullompton minster, which may have originated as an 'old minster' founded by royal initiative for an intended staff of five priests or canons, had included much of the area around the middle Culm valley and corresponds to the central part of Silverton Hundred, although the western limit of this original parish has not yet been determined. Within this area of the middle

Culm and Tale valleys that formed part or all of the original parishes of Cullompton and Broadhembury, the only later parish that has not yet been considered is that of Plymtree, which was the seat of the rural deanery covering most of this area by the late thirteenth century and perhaps already by the late twelfth century.

Plymtree parish encompasses an area with links to three separate river systems; but although much of its eastern boundary is defined by either the river Tale or its tributary, most of the parish lies to the west of the Tale's watershed. The northern part of the parish drains into and incorporates part of the Weaver valley, a tributary of the Culm, while the river Clyst has its source at Clyst William in the south-east of the parish; the main settlement focus and church of Plymtree are located in the west of the parish on a low rise between the Clyst and one of its tributary streams.⁴⁷¹ Of the three Domesday holdings within the parish, all of which lay in Silverton Hundred, the smallest was Clyst William, held by Alwin before the Conquest and by Edwin of Butterleigh in 1086, the greater part of which later came into the hands of Polsloe priory.⁴⁷² The second holding was that of Woodbeare, in the north-eastern part of the parish but also with land in the south of the parish that was granted to Forde abbey in the thirteenth century and became attached to the abbey's manor of Tale in Payhembury.⁴⁷³ The largest of the Domesday holdings was that of Plymtree itself, and like that of Broadhembury it had passed from Brictric to Odo son of Gamelin after the Conquest.⁴⁷⁴ Its subsequent tenorial history is rather different from that of Broadhembury, however, because in c.1095 Odo granted it to St Peter's monastery at Gloucester and shortly afterwards the abbot gave it to Nicholas de la Pole in exchange for lands in Warwickshire.⁴⁷⁵ The manorial descent through the twelfth century is not known, but like several

⁴⁷¹ The second element of the place-name Clyst William is not a personal name but in fact derives from Old English *ænylm*, which means 'prolific spring' or 'river-source': Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.568; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.2-3.

⁴⁷² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,39; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.93, 232; Reichel, 1910, p.248; *idem*, 1912a, pp.341-2 no.669, 363-3 no.702; Maxwell-Lyte, 1923, p.782; Lega-Weekes, 1937, p.464; Youings, 1955, pp.34-5 no.41.

⁴⁷³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 25,13; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.322, 368, 425; *idem*, 1923, p.779; Reichel, 1910, p.240; *idem*, 1912a, p.260 no.517; Youings, 1955, pp.47-8 no.52; Hobbs, 1998, pp.103-4 nos.389-91, 104-5 no.394, 112 no.424.

⁴⁷⁴ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 42,17.

⁴⁷⁵ Hart, 1863-7, i, p.74; ii, pp.125-6; Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.410 [addenda to no.379a].

other de la Pole holdings Plymtree appears to have had the fitzPaynes as middle lords during the thirteenth century, and it appears as though the church advowson was then associated with the manor.⁴⁷⁶ The church may well have originated as a manorial chapel, although as extant Norman fabric in the north doorway, nave and chancel pre-dates the earliest surviving documentary reference to the church by at least a century there is perhaps room for doubt on this point.⁴⁷⁷ Nevertheless, its assessment at just over £5 in the *Taxatio* of c.1291 means that it then ranked only tenth among the fifteen churches of its deanery in terms of value, and such a low relative value makes it very unlikely that it had ever been a church of 'superior' status.⁴⁷⁸ Yet it was Plymtree that became the seat of the rural deanery, and it is this that provides a possible key to understanding the development of the earlier ecclesiastical jurisdictions of the area.

It seems almost certain that Plymtree gained its parochial independence at the expense of one of the three mother churches in its vicinity, namely the minsters at Cullompton, Broadhembury and Broadclyst, but which of these it might be is not immediately apparent. Although the natural topography could point more towards an association with Broadclyst or Cullompton (and the proximity of Cullompton's prebendal estate at Weaver may be worth noting here), the fact that the Domesday holdings of Plymtree and Broadhembury were held by the same individuals, Brictric and Odo, in 1066 and 1086 respectively provides a contrary tenurial indicator of at least equal weight. However, all three of the Domesday holdings within Plymtree parish were in Silverton Hundred, as were all the other holdings previously suggested as lying within the original parishes of Cullompton and Broadhembury with the exception of Larkbeare. This seems to provide strong grounds for assuming that Plymtree was originally associated with the original parish of one of these two minsters, while the close correspondence of their combined original

⁴⁷⁶ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.263; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.162-3, 366-7; *idem*, 1899, pp.1310, 1328; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.322, 368, 382, 425, 487; *idem*, 1920, p.264; *idem*, 1922, p.85; *idem*, 1923, p.789; Reichel, 1910, pp.239-40; see also discussion *re* the de la Pole holdings associated with Stokeinteignhead manor, in section 3.3 above.

⁴⁷⁷ Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.686; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.264.

⁴⁷⁸ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.454; see Appendix I below.

parishes to that of Plymtree's later rural deanery may also point in this direction.⁴⁷⁹ Indeed, the position of Plymtree in relation to these two minsters may explain its choice as the seat of the rural deanery, and raises the possibility that the rural deans and their deaneries were established in the later twelfth century as an intermediate level of episcopal administration to replace that previously provided by the minster system, although the suggestion must remain a speculative one until more evidence is forthcoming.⁴⁸⁰

What may be of more immediate value for present purposes is a further consideration of the apparent relationship between Silverton Hundred and the original parishes of Cullompton and Broadhembury. The first point of note is that the association of this hundred with Silverton occurs only in two satellite documents associated with the Domesday and geld surveys.⁴⁸¹ In all subsequent references it is known as Hayridge Hundred, and a text that apparently derives from late thirteenth-century records notes that the former meeting-place for *Harigge* Hundred had been at *Harruge* on the boundary between Bradninch and Cullompton; the latter name survives as that of Whorridge farm in Bradninch, and despite the differences in the modern forms both names probably derive from Old English *hār-brycg*, which means 'boundary ridge' or 'grey ridge'.⁴⁸² The proximity of the hundred moot to Cullompton is notable, and it is also possible that the apparent change of name in the post-Conquest period may in fact represent a revival of an earlier hundredal name.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, we have already seen that the hundred court of Hayridge was associated with the manor of Cullompton rather than that of Silverton by the second half of the

⁴⁷⁹ However, note that the parishes of Cyst Hydon and Cyst St Lawrence, although lying within Clifton Hundred and most probably within Broadclyst's original parish, were included within the rural deanery of Plymtree rather than in that of Aylesbeare.

⁴⁸⁰ Dr Steven Bassett (*pers. comm.*, October 2001) informs me that he believes that I am not the first to have made this suggestion, but as yet neither of us has been able to locate the original reference.

⁴⁸¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, appendix 'The Devonshire Hundreds', *passim*; Thorn, 1991, pp.32, 42.

⁴⁸² *contra* Thorn, 1991, p.41 n24; see Whale, 1900, p.545 (and see *ibid.*, pp.534-5, *contra* Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.xix); Gover *et al.* 1931-2, ii, pp.554, 556; Anderson, 1939, pp.83-4 (although note that the forms cited both by Gover *et al.* and by Anderson are incomplete); and see also Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.70 (*re* Horrabridge, Harrowbridge) for apparent parallels for a meaning 'boundary' rather than 'grey'. The hill-spur just to the south-west of Whorridge farm (but there given as 'Stone farm') is called Hoar Down on the 1" Ordnance Survey map of 1809, surveyed in 1802: see Margary, 1977, p.25.

⁴⁸³ The possibility that the post-Conquest replacement of hundred-names derived from the manorial *caput* by ones derived from the hundredal moot may in fact represent the revival of an earlier name has also been suggested for some of the other Devonshire hundreds: see Thorn, 1991, p.38; *cf.* Sawyer, 1983, p.283; see also p.50 above.

thirteenth century.⁴⁸⁴ Indeed, there seems to be a strong case for regarding Cullompton, not Silverton, as the *villa regalis* on which the hundred was based at the time of its creation, in which case the relationship of Cullompton minster and its original parish to this royal hundredal manor and part of its administrative jurisdiction acquires a new significance.⁴⁸⁵ If so, then we are left with an apparently chicken-and-egg problem of whether the hundred administered from Cullompton and the original parishes administered from Cullompton and Broadhembury were coeval, or whether these ecclesiastical land-units had a prior existence that influenced the territorial extent of the secular administrative land-unit or *vice versa*, but the resolution of this problem must be postponed until the last of the case studies has been considered.

3.5: Case study IV: the East Budleigh area.

The final case study will focus mainly on the parishes and holdings on the east bank of the Exe estuary and those of the lower Otter valley, of which all except Ottery St Mary were parts of Budleigh Hundred in 1086. A general point to be made at the outset is that a significant proportion of the lands within this area were probably in royal hands at various times during the fifty years before the Conquest. In 1066 the royal hundredal manor of Budleigh included not only the lands within East Budleigh parish but also parts of Bicton, Colaton Raleigh and Withycombe Raleigh parishes together with an outlier comprising those of Harpford and Venn Ottery.⁴⁸⁶ In addition, both Littleham and Ottery St Mary were the subjects of grants made by Edward the Confessor, in 1042 and 1061 respectively, and it seems likely that these had also been royal lands prior to their alienation.⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, it is likely that some of the lands held by earl Harold and his mother the countess Gytha in 1066 - in Colaton Raleigh, Woodbury, Otterton and probably Sidmouth parishes - were acquired by the Godwine family either as 'comital' estates or by royal

⁴⁸⁴ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.70; Hobbs, 1998, pp.99-100 nos.375, 378; and see first paragraph here, p.179 above.

⁴⁸⁵ *contra* Reichel, 1939. Note that Sawyer, 1983, p.293, includes Cullompton in his list of *villae regales*.

⁴⁸⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,9.

⁴⁸⁷ S 998; S 1033; and see below.

grant during the reigns of Cnut and Edward, and previously these too were perhaps royal lands.⁴⁸⁸

Although these various holdings may not all have been in royal hands at a single point in time and need not have been regarded or administered as a single estate, they represent a potentially important local influence on the late Anglo-Saxon human landscape and its organisation.

A second, and rather different, consideration is that a comparative treatment of the *Taxatio* valuations of c.1291 provides a far less helpful indicator of potentially 'superior' churches in this area than in some other parts of Exeter's hinterland. The church of Ottery St Mary is clearly exceptional in this respect, its valuation of over £26 making it the fourth wealthiest church within the entire Exeter hinterland survey area in c.1291.⁴⁸⁹ At the lower end of the scale, Colaton Raleigh church is valued at less than £7, giving it a local ranking of sixth and of forty-second within the Exeter hinterland area as a whole, while those of Bicton, Clyst St George, Dotton, Harpford and Lympstone are all valued at £5 or less, and it seems highly unlikely that any of these had originated as a church of 'superior' status. In between these churches and that of Ottery St Mary, however, the *Taxatio* records four churches - those of East Budleigh, Littleham, Otterton and Sidmouth - whose valuations of £10 or more place them among the more wealthy churches of the Exeter hinterland area, and although some of these probably originated as 'superior' churches the differences in their relative values in c.1291 are too small to allow meaningful distinctions to be made on this basis. In addition, three churches that are known to have existed by the late thirteenth century are not explicitly recorded in the *Taxatio*. Of these, Withycombe Raleigh and Venn Ottery were chapels attached to East Budleigh and Harpford churches respectively; but the complete omission of Woodbury church is surprising despite the fact that it was then appropriated to the vicars choral of Exeter cathedral.⁴⁹⁰ In the light of these difficulties, all we can really say on the basis of the *Taxatio* valuations is that Ottery St Mary

⁴⁸⁸ For the rise of earl Godwine and his family under Cnut, and the possibility that some royal lands were assigned to the earls by virtue of their office, see Stenton, 1971, pp.414-17, 547-8; Keynes, 1994, *passim*; Clarke, 1994, pp.18-23.

⁴⁸⁹ For the *Taxatio* valuations and 'rankings' of the churches noted in this paragraph, see Appendix I below.

⁴⁹⁰ See discussion in chapter 2.2 above, at pp.34-5.

church probably originated as a church of 'superior' status and that any other such churches within the area are most likely to be found among the group comprising East Budleigh, Littleham, Otterton and Sidmouth, to which group Woodbury probably should be added.

As a final point, it is worth noting that of the fourteen guildships that were affiliated to Exeter cathedral in the late eleventh century, eight or nine can be located within the present area: three at *Wudebirig* (Woodbury), two at *Colatun* (Colaton Raleigh), and one each at *Clistwik* (Clyst St George), *Hnutwill* (Nutwell in Woodbury), *Sidemuða* (Sidmouth) and perhaps *Axamuða* (either Exmouth in Littleham, or Axmouth).⁴⁹¹ The lists of members for these nine guildships are extensive; but apart from the priests Ælword, Ordric and Walter named in guildships at *Wudebirig*, *Colatun* and *Clistwik* respectively, all the names appear to represent members of the laity.⁴⁹² While it is likely that the guildships were associated with a local church at or near each place named, there is a danger of circularity if we assume them to provide implicit evidence for the existence of such churches. Furthermore, although the guildships clearly represent an important aspect of contemporary popular religious culture, it seems preferable to postpone discussion of them until such time as they can be considered within their broader context.

* * *

As was noted above, at the time of the Conquest the royal estate of Budleigh was extensive. It then included not only all of the later holdings in East Budleigh, Harpford and Venn Ottery parishes but also Bradham and Yettington in the western parts of Withycombe Raleigh and Bicton respectively, a probable sub-holding at Blackberry in the south of Colaton Raleigh, and land at Langley in Cadeleigh in the outlier of Budleigh Hundred that lay to the north-east of Crediton.⁴⁹³ Parts of this royal estate were alienated by Henry I - he apparently granted the hundred itself to the predecessors of Robert de Huxham, Venn Ottery to the Furneaux family

⁴⁹¹ The guildship lists are discussed (with references) in section 3.2.2 above, at pp.146-7 & note 254.

⁴⁹² *Exeter Book*, folios 7^a-7^b; for facsimiles, see Chambers *et al.*, 1933.

⁴⁹³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,9.

and Harpford to the Dinans - and in 1123 he granted 12 *librates* of land 'in his manor of Budleigh' to Mont St Michel abbey in exchange for two churches elsewhere that the king had given to Reading abbey, specifying that the land was to be held as freely as Mont St Michel had previously held the two churches.⁴⁹⁴ As later records show, this grant comprised the *caput* of the royal estate, which will be referred to hereafter by its later name of 'East Budleigh manor'.⁴⁹⁵

Henry's grant refers only to the manorial land, but a papal confirmation of Mont St Michel's possessions in 1156 includes 'the church and vill of *Bordelar*' and shows that East Budleigh church was then in the hands of the abbey.⁴⁹⁶ Yet shortly before this the church was held by William Cumin, the former chancellor of David I of Scotland and archdeacon of Worcester for whom 'empress' Matilda tried to secure the bishopric of Durham in the early 1140s. The information comes from a papal letter of 1152 in which Eugenius III ordered bishop Robert de Warelwast to deprive Cumin of the *ecclesiam de Budelega* and give it to one William Giffard instead, an earlier papal attempt to do so having been reversed by archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, and the letter makes no mention of either the king or Mont St Michel.⁴⁹⁷ Further details are lacking, but it seems likely that Cumin acquired East Budleigh church at a time when the strength of Matilda's

⁴⁹⁴ Round, 1899, p.259 no.723; Johnson & Cronne, 1956, p.190 no.1418; cf. Kemp, 1999, p.11 no.13. Although Johnson & Cronne translate '12 *librates*' as '£12', a *librate* seems to have been a measure of 'free land' and suggests that it was granted as glebe or in free alms (see Finn, 1973, p.69; Latham, 1980, pp.275-6); in a local context 12 *librates* appears to represent 6 virgates, or 1½ hides: compare, for example, Seymour, 1977, p.138 nos.89-90. For the grant of Budleigh Hundred, see *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66-7; Maxwell-Lyte, 1904, p.10 no.42; *idem*, 1920, p.96; *idem*, 1923, pp.1368, 1424; Reichel, 1903, pp.305-6. For Venn Ottery and Harpford, see below.

⁴⁹⁵ East Budleigh manor was held by Mont St Michel abbey and its daughter priory at Otterton until 1414, after which Syon abbey acquired Otterton's possessions; in some post-Reformation records it is referred to as the manor of 'Budleigh Syon' (to distinguish it from the rectory manor of 'Budleigh Polsloe', on which see below): see Caley, 1810, pp.425, 427; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.66; Oliver, 1846, pp.248ff (*passim*); Hingston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Maxwell-Lyte, 1890, p.269 B579; *idem*, 1920, p.95; Youings, 1955, p.7 no.8. The wording of Henry I's grant may reflect the fact that another part of the royal holding lay at Dalditch (known as 'Longditch' or 'Blackditch' in some records) in the west of East Budleigh parish and was apparently separate from Mont St Michel's manor: see Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.220; Oliver, 1846, p.252 nt; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.364, 427, 488; *idem*, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31; *idem*, 1923, pp.762, 787; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,9 note.

⁴⁹⁶ Round, 1899, pp.268-9 no.736. The spelling *Bordelar* is irregular in comparison to contemporary forms such as *Bodeleg* or *Bu(d)dele*, but other erratic forms within the document include *Seduine* rather than *Sedemue* (for Sidmouth) and *Cudeb[ir]* rather than *Wudebir* (for Woodbury) and suggest that a papal clerk or monastic copyist was dealing with unfamiliar place-names (and note the form *Bordelai* in *ibid.*, pp.266-8 no.734, s.a.1157, discussed below). Note also that the reference to *Wiscomba* in the same document refers to Wiscombe in Southleigh, not to Withycombe Raleigh: see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.632; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 11,1 note; *contra* Lega-Weekes, 1937, p.457-8.

⁴⁹⁷ Holtzmann, 1935-6, p.240 no.72; for the broad context, see *ibid.*, pp.240-1 no.73; Fryde *et al*, 1986, p.180; Chibnall, 1991, pp.98-102, 138-9; Barlow, 1996a, pp.xxxv-vi; Matthew, 2002, pp.118-22, 155-6, 200-2 (*et passim* for a valuable and stimulating reassessment of the so-called 'anarchy' of Stephen's reign).

allies in the south west enabled her to usurp Stephen's authority in the region. How Mont St Michel had acquired the church by 1156 is unclear. Was it part of Henry I's grant of the manor, with the church being usurped by Cumin then subsequently restored, or was it acquired by some other means? This is a question to which we will return shortly. In any event, although the abbey (and its daughter priory at Otterton) continued to hold East Budleigh manor it did not retain the church for much longer, because a confirmation issued by king John in 1201 implies that Polsloe priory had received East Budleigh church by his gift as count of Mortain during the reign of his father Henry II, presumably in the late 1180s, and Polsloe priory certainly held the advowson and rectory thereafter.⁴⁹⁸ There may be a hint here that John - and perhaps Matilda before him - had acquired rights in the church as a consequence of his position as count of Mortain, a title once granted to Stephen by Henry I, but the link is a tenuous one.⁴⁹⁹ Be that as it may, it appears that by the time of John's grant to Polsloe, and probably before the papal letter to bishop Robert, the church and the manor of East Budleigh could be treated as separate entities, which suggests that the church was not founded by Mont St Michel but already existed when East Budleigh manor was still in royal hands. This suggestion receives indirect support from the combined evidence provided by the witness-lists of three charters that all appear to date from the period before East Budleigh church was given to Polsloe.

The first occurs in a cartulary entry that summarises a charter issued at Otterton by abbot Robert of Mont St Michel during his visit to England in 1157.⁵⁰⁰ In its abbreviated form the entry gives the names of only two witnesses, *Alric prepositus* and *Jordan de Bordelai*; presumably these

⁴⁹⁸ Hardy, 1837, p.95; *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum*, 1803, p.45; Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, pp.5-6; *idem*, 1889, p.121; *idem*, 1899, p.1315; Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, p.123. John was born in 1167 and may have been created count of Mortain shortly before his father's death in July 1189: Fryde *et al*, 1986, pp.36-7, 472; *contra* Reichel, 1906, pp.339-40; Lega-Weekes, 1937, pp.451-2. Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, pp.xi, 119-20, suggests a date of 1185 for three charters issued by John as count of Mortain, and all three clearly post-date the consecration of archbishop John of Dublin in 1182; but the presence of bishop A[lbinus] of Ferns in the third witness-list implies a date after c.1186, although the presence of Richard de Redvers without a title in the same list may indicate a date before he became earl of Devon, after May 1188 (see Fryde *et al*, 1986, pp.350, 355, 459). Even so, John's age makes a date earlier than the late 1180s unlikely.

⁴⁹⁹ See Sanders, 1960, p.60 *et passim*; Fryde *et al*, 1986, p.472; Chibnall, 1991, pp.106-7; Matthew, 2002, p.56.

⁵⁰⁰ Round, 1899, pp.266-8 no.734, s.a.1157. This entry seems to have been a nearly contemporary addition to the cartulary: see *ibid.*, p.249 n2; Hull, 1962, p.ix n1; Keats-Rohan, 1998, pp.96, 100.

were the first two names of the original witness-list, and it seems reasonable to assume that Alric was a senior ecclesiastical or secular official, probably associated with Otterton, and that Jordan was a locally important ecclesiast or landholder associated with Budleigh.⁵⁰¹ The second charter is one issued by John Poer, a local landholder, which includes 'Jordan clerk, Robert clerk of Budleigh' among the witnesses and for which the corresponding episcopal confirmation has been dated to 1177x1184.⁵⁰² The third is a confirmation by William de Claville of his father's gifts to Canonsleigh priory, dated by its editor to early in the period c.1177x1196, and the witnesses include 'Jordan priest of Budleigh, Roger priest of Littleham, Walter chaplain, Robert son of Jordan priest of Budleigh', which at the least implies that Jordan was a married secular priest.⁵⁰³ We cannot be certain that the witnesses 'Jordan' and 'Robert' are the same individuals in each case, nor, given the ambiguous dates of the second two charters, that a Jordan and a Robert were serving together as priests of East Budleigh church in or after the late 1170s. Nevertheless, the possibility that two secular priests were staffing a church previously associated with a *villa regalis* provides some grounds for suggesting that East Budleigh had originated as a church of 'superior' status, while their possible familial relationship may indicate that the priesthood of that church had become to some extent hereditary.⁵⁰⁴ The suggestion can only be a tentative one at this stage, however, and further discussion is best suspended while we consider the adjacent parish of Withycombe Raleigh, which was a chapelry of East Budleigh by at least the fifteenth century.

The central and western areas of Withycombe Raleigh parish were parts of the Domesday estate of Budleigh that eventually passed out of royal control in 1205, when king John assigned

⁵⁰¹ In ecclesiastical terms, *prepositus* can refer to a prior, an abbot or the provost in charge of a collegiate church; in secular terms, it usually refers to a provost or reeve: Latham, 1980, p.369. The question of which of these offices Alric held should be left open until we consider Otterton in more detail at a later stage.

⁵⁰² Morey, 1937, pp.151-3 nos.31-2; Barlow, 1996a, pp.80-2 no.95. The Poers held Yettington in Bicton: see below.

⁵⁰³ London, 1965, p.5 no.18.

⁵⁰⁴ For a contemporary and local parallel for hereditary clergy, see Morey, 1937, p.92. Barlow, 1963, p.198 n4 (*cf.* Förster, 1933b, p.54 n82), suggests that the late eleventh-century guildship at *Lege* with two priests among its members refers to East Budleigh. However, there are no records of East Budleigh being referred to by a simplex *leah* name, and the only major-name in the Exeter area for which the simplex form occurs regularly in post-Conquest records is Doddiscombsleigh: see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.494-5, 582. Although it may be tempting to equate the two priests at *Lege* with the putative two priests at East Budleigh, this is essentially a circular argument. Without more evidence, the guildship at *Lege* must be regarded either as unidentified or as possibly referring to Doddiscombsleigh.

part as a sergeantry to support the bailiff of Budleigh Hundred and granted the remainder, usually known as Bradham, to St Nicholas priory at Exeter.⁵⁰⁵ Although the parochial geography is complicated by Bystock, a parochial outlier of Colaton Raleigh that will be considered separately at a later stage, the only other Domesday holding was that of Withycombe Raleigh itself, which lay mainly in the eastern half of the parish.⁵⁰⁶ It passed from Ælfeva to Walter de Claville after the Conquest and was retained by the Clavilles until the mid-thirteenth century when they granted it to Hugh de Raleigh.⁵⁰⁷ The parish church of St John the Baptist lay within this holding and is first explicitly referred to in a papal letter of 1414 that gave the inhabitants of Exmouth (which lies partly in both Withycombe and Littleham parishes) provisional permission to establish their own church, although apparently this church was never built.⁵⁰⁸ However, St John's was clearly older than the fifteenth century, because Norman masonry foundations and decorative stonework of mid-twelfth-century date were discovered during restoration work in the 1920s.⁵⁰⁹ The papal letter makes no reference to St John's being subject to a mother church, but in subsequent pre-Dissolution records it is described as a chapel held by Polsloe priory and pertaining to East Budleigh church, from which Withycombe Raleigh did not achieve full parochial independence until the nineteenth century.⁵¹⁰ Furthermore, although the *Taxatio* has no entry for Withycombe Raleigh, which might be an omission but is more likely to indicate that it did not then have

⁵⁰⁵ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.66; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.475; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.365; *idem*, 1920, pp.95, 342; *idem*, 1923, pp.764, 1368, 1424; Poole, 1907, p.64; Youings, 1955, pp.122-3 no.132; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,9 note; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.213, 216 (but note that Hulham is in Withycombe Raleigh, not Littleham); Oliver, 1846, pp.122 no.xv, 256-9 no.xx (at p.257 no.37); Reichel, 1903, pp.298, 301 (although his identification of Bystock as 'the church manor of Withycombe Raleigh' is incorrect); Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.600-1.

⁵⁰⁶ For location, see Donn, 1765; Reichel, 1903, p.288; Lega-Weekes, 1937, p.454.

⁵⁰⁷ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 24,3; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 92; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.364, 427; *idem*, 1923, pp.763, 780; Lega-Weekes, 1937, p.456. Withycombe was one of four holdings held by an 'Ælfeva' that passed to Walter de Claville after the Conquest, all of which she may have held as a tenant of Beorhtric son of Ælfgar: see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,63; DB 24,2-4,22; Williams, 1997, pp.57 (n60), 66.

⁵⁰⁸ Twemlow, 1904, p.508; Orme, 1996, pp.163, 218. Lega-Weekes (1937, p.458, citing *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. A.D.1225-1232*, HMSO, London, 1903, p.516) claimed that a dispute between Ralph son of Ralph and William de Clyd regarding *ecclesia de Withecumbe* in 1232 referred to Withycombe Raleigh, but this in fact refers to Widecombe-in-the-Moor (outside the Exeter survey area), which has the same place-name derivation and was held by Richard son of Ralph in c.1242, whose successors also held the church advowson: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.190; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.318, 349, 392; *idem*, 1923, pp.768, 790; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.526, 600; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,46.

⁵⁰⁹ Lega-Weekes, 1937, pp.454-5 & plate LX; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.915; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.213-4; Clarke, 1915, pp.352-3 no.34 (*re* similar font); Parsons, 1986, pp.110-11, 114-15 (*re* piscina).

⁵¹⁰ Caley, 1814, pp.310, 315; Lega-Weekes, 1937, pp.453, 465; Youings, 1955, pp.28-9 no.35; Dunstan, 1968, pp.58-60; Youngs, 1979, pp.79, 101.

independent parochial status, the entry for East Budleigh church includes a chapel, unnamed in the 'Aunselin text' but specified as the 'chapel of Withycombe' in the later 'Exchequer' copies of the *Taxatio*.⁵¹¹

Despite the ambiguity of the papal letter, therefore, it is almost certain that Withycombe Raleigh was a chapelry of East Budleigh in the late thirteenth century, although its earlier history remains unclear. On the one hand, it may be that it was already one in the late twelfth century and that as such it was silently included as an appurtenance in John's grant to Polsloe priory. On the other hand, it is possible that it originated as a manorial chapel and that Polsloe acquired it through a separate grant by the Clavilles (or perhaps the Raleighs) at some point between the foundation of Polsloe priory in c.1160 and the compilation of the *Taxatio*.⁵¹² For our purposes, however, the difference may not be significant. Obviously, if it originated as a parochial chapel of East Budleigh, then this implies that Withycombe Raleigh was part of East Budleigh's original parish. If, however, it originated as a manorial chapel, then the fact that the parish that it served once it became a chapelry of East Budleigh included not only the Claville's manor but also the royal sub-holding at Bradham suggests that Bradham previously lay within East Budleigh's ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In either case, therefore, it is highly likely that East Budleigh once had an original parish that included the later parish of Withycombe Raleigh, and this provides support for the earlier suggestion that East Budleigh had been a church of 'superior' status. If so, then it seems likely that the 'Walter chaplain' who witnessed William de Claville's charter alongside

⁵¹¹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.456. However, note that licences granted to the vicar of East Budleigh in 1421 and 1435 mention a chapel of St Michael (specified as being in Withycombe in 1435) and it is not clear whether this was an alternative or double dedication for St John's or refers to a lost chapel: see Dunstan, 1963, pp.35, 297; Orme, 1996, pp.163, 218; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.214.

⁵¹² For the date of Polsloe's foundation, see Poole, 1907, p.49; Lega-Weekes, 1934, pp.182-3; *idem*, 1937, p.447; note also Reichel, 1897c, p.476 no.223. However, the Clavilles were the patrons of Canonsleigh priory, also founded in c.1160 (the confirmation noted on p.215 above was by the founder's son), and had granted their mill, its rights of culture, 6 acres of land and the tithe of their rents in Withycombe as part of Canonsleigh's endowment: London, 1965, pp.ix-xi, 2-4 nos.12-15, 5 no.18, 11 no.33. We know that the stone church at Withycombe was built at around the same time, so its exclusion from Canonsleigh's endowment suggests, albeit *ex silentio*, that the Clavilles did not possess patronal rights over the church.

'Jordan priest of Budleigh' was the chaplain then serving Withycombe Raleigh. So what about the other church implicitly referred to in the witness-list, that served by 'Roger priest of Littleham'?

The earliest surviving reference to Littleham dates from 1042, when Edward the Confessor granted it to Ordgar, a leading Devonshire thegn and probably a grandson of the ealdorman Ordgar who founded Tavistock abbey in the late tenth century.⁵¹³ It was subsequently given, either by Ordgar (who died c.1050) or by his son Ordwulf, to Horton abbey, the holder in 1086, passing to Sherborne abbey when the two monasteries were amalgamated in the early twelfth century and remaining in Sherborne's possession until the Dissolution.⁵¹⁴ Although the reference to 'Roger priest of Littleham' in c.1177x1196 is the first implicit mention of a church at Littleham, the details regarding a presentation to the rectory in 1213 (which also note Roger of Littleham's existing rights as perpetual vicar) show that Sherborne then held the advowson.⁵¹⁵ The church did not remain in Sherborne's hands for much longer, however, because in 1234 arrangements were made to appropriate it to the Exeter cathedral chapter and this seems to have been effected soon afterwards.⁵¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is apparent that the advowson was originally associated with the tenure of Littleham manor, and a similarly close association between the territorial extent of their respective secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions seems probable because the eleventh-century charter boundary is almost identical to that of the nineteenth-century parish.⁵¹⁷ This need not imply that the church was already in existence at the time of Edward's grant to Ordgar, but it does suggest that Littleham church originated as a manorial chapel. Furthermore, although by local standards Littleham was among the 'middle range' of churches in terms of its value in c.1291, there are no other indicators to suggest that it might have been a church of 'superior' status. A number of chapels developed within Littleham's parish to serve the needs of the

⁵¹³ S 998; Finberg, 1943, pp.190, 193-5; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.lx, 74-7 no.21.

⁵¹⁴ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 92; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.365; *idem*, 1923, p.764; Finberg, 1943, pp.194-5; Youings, 1955, p.7 no.9; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 7,1; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xv, lx-lxii, 77; Clarke, 1994, p.326; Williams, 1997, pp.61-2.

⁵¹⁵ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.492; London, 1965, p.5 no.18. Roger seems to have survived into the early 1220s: see Oliver, 1846, p.250 no.iii; Reichel, 1912a, p.69 no.132; Barlow, 1996a, pp.lxx-lxxi.

⁵¹⁶ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.151, 348, 474, 492; *idem*, 1892, p.231; Barlow, 1996b, p.229 no.253.

⁵¹⁷ DRO Littleham and Exmouth tithe map (1844) [=PRO IR 30/9/258]; Hooke, 1994, pp.200-3.

growing population of Exmouth (as was also the case in Withycombe Raleigh), and by 1330 there was an *annualarius*, or ‘priest for anniversaries’, whose duties were presumably associated with one or more local fraternities; but neither these features nor the details provided by early ordinations and visitations of the vicarage give any cause to suppose that Littleham was originally served by more than one priest.⁵¹⁸

It seems likely that Littleham church was established to serve a manor in an area with an existing mother church. If, as is probable, Withycombe Raleigh was once part of an original parish served by East Budleigh church, then Littleham’s position between these parishes and the sea strongly suggests that it had lain within this same original parish.⁵¹⁹ In addition, king Edward’s ability to grant Littleham to Ordgar in 1042, at the beginning of his reign, increases the likelihood that it was previously royal land rather than a holding that had been recently acquired by the king through forfeiture, purchase or escheat, and that as such it is most likely to have lain within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the church serving the *caput* of the royal estate of Budleigh. Drawing the various threads of the preceding discussion together, therefore, it appears almost certain that East Budleigh was once the mother church for an original parish that included the later parishes of East Budleigh, Withycombe Raleigh and Littleham, while there is also some evidence to suggest that it originated as a minster staffed by more than one secular priest. However, several questions remain with respect to the history and development of that church before the mid-twelfth century, not least that of how and when Mont St Michel abbey acquired the church. When we examine the evidence relating to Bicton parish, however, it suggests that East Budleigh was by no means the only important church within the area being considered here.

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⁵¹⁸ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.216-17; Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, p.100 & n1; *idem*, 1889, p.151; *idem*, 1894, p.576; *idem*, 1906, p.647; Twemlow, 1904, p.508; Morris, 1989, p.366; Barlow, 1996b, p.229 no.253; Orme, 1996, p.163.

⁵¹⁹ This leaves open, for the time being, the question of whether Colaton Raleigh’s parochial outlier at Bystock had also lain within East Budleigh’s original parish.

At the time of the Domesday survey there seem to have been two holdings within Bicton parish, of which one, at Yettington in the western half of the parish, was a sub-holding of the royal estate of Budleigh and later passed to the Poer family.⁵²⁰ The other Domesday holding, in the east of the parish, was that of Bicton. It was held by Alsi in 1066, but after the Conquest it became a royal sergeantry for guarding the castle-gate and jail of Exeter and its holders can be identified by their occupational bynames Portarius or Janitor until the late 1220s, when a family variously known as Balistarius or Normand obtained the sergeantry.⁵²¹ The new holder seems to have taken steps to guarantee his patronal rights over Bicton church, because in 1228 Ralph le Normand made a settlement with the prior of Otterton that secured sole possession of the church advowson for himself and his successors, although the details are not specific as to what rights the prior had previously held in the church.⁵²² However, in 1260 the prior of Otterton compiled a list of the various customs, revenues and rights that the priory possessed so that these would not be lost through ignorance or neglect on the part of the brethren.⁵²³ In doing so, he provided us with a vital key to understanding the early parochial geography of the area. He noted that the inhabitants of Yettington were required to render a tithe comprising a basket of rye (*decem hop' siliginis*) and two pennies to Otterton at Martinmas, and that this was due as church-scot (*chercheset*) because they had been parishioners of Otterton when Bicton church was a chapel pertaining to Otterton church.⁵²⁴

⁵²⁰ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,9; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.364, 426; *idem*, 1912, pp.23-9 no.31; *idem*, 1923, pp.762, 787.

⁵²¹ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 51,1; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 92; Oliver, 1846, pp.250-1 nos.iii-iv, 256-9 no.xx (at p.256 nos.1-8); Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.325, 365; *idem*, 1903, pp.14, 50; *idem*, 1904, p.117 no.420; *idem*, 1906b, p.3 no.3; *idem*, 1920, pp.96, 342; *idem*, 1923, pp.1368, 1424; see also Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.222. The Domesday name-form Alsi can represent either Æthelsige or Ælfsige, but a thegn called Æthelsige is known to have held land elsewhere in the Otter valley: see Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 15,54 note; Clarke, 1994, pp.133-4, 240.

⁵²² Reichel, 1912a, p.83 no.162. The manorial lords of Bicton retained the advowson thereafter: Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.114, 490; *idem*, 1892, pp.32, 45, 190; *idem*, 1899, pp.1329, 1354, 1406, 1425; Maxwell-Lyte, 1890, p.269 B581.

⁵²³ Oliver, 1846, pp.256-9 no.xx.

⁵²⁴ *ibid.* (at p.256 s.n. Otterton): *Memorandum quod tota villata de Yettemetone tenetur reddere decem hop' siliginis ad festum Sancti Martini hyemis et offerre equis suis ad curiam Otterton et duos denarios dicta die similiter. // Et notandum quod debentur ad antiquam mensuram; vocantur enim chercheset et jus ecclesie Otterton, quia dimissione secte ecclesie Otterton, cujus parochiani erant, solvuntur; quia ecclesia de Buketon aliquando fuit capella pertinens ad ecclesiam Otterton ...* According to Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.227, a link between Otterton and Yettington still existed in the late eighteenth century.

There are several points that need to be made in connection with this entry in the 'Otterton Custumal'. Firstly, it unequivocally states that Bicton was once part of an original parish served by Otterton church and, when taken with the details of the settlement in 1228, it suggests that Bicton originated as a manorial chapel. Secondly, the inclusion of Yettington within Bicton (formerly Otterton) parish rather than that of East Budleigh implies that although East Budleigh church was associated with the hundredal *caput* it had not served the whole of the royal estate of Budleigh, although this need not preclude the possibility of an original relationship between East Budleigh and Otterton. Thirdly, and most importantly, the payment of church-scot by Otterton's former parishioners at Martinmas had survived as an ecclesiastical due paid to the mother church, which strongly suggests not only that Otterton was a church of 'superior' status but also that it was very probably of the type described in the Anglo-Saxon law-codes as an 'old minster'.⁵²⁵

The parish of Otterton occupies the whole eastern side of the lower Otter valley, bounded by the river to the west and by the sea and the watershed with the Sid valley to the east, while the church and main settlement focus are sited by the river close to where the parish boundary meets those of Bicton and East Budleigh. The Benedictine abbey of Mont St Michel held Otterton in 1086 and it is highly probable that this Domesday holding included Sidmouth as well, because although there is no separate entry for Sidmouth, Domesday notes that a salt-house at Sidmouth 'in St Michael's land' was attached to Rouen cathedral's holding of Ottery St Mary.⁵²⁶ Similarly, Domesday makes no mention of Otterton minster, perhaps because it was not held separately in 1086, but the manors and churches of both Otterton and Sidmouth were clearly in the hands of Mont St Michel by the time they are next mentioned, in 1156, and it is probable that the abbey's daughter priory at Otterton had also been established by this time.⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵ For discussion of church-scot, with references and local examples, see chapter 1.2 (at pp.14-15 & notes 48, 51), section 3.2.2 (at p.139) and section 3.3 (at pp.159-60 & notes 299-300) above.

⁵²⁶ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 10,1 (& note), 11,1; Rouen cathedral was dedicated to St Mary, not St Michael.

⁵²⁷ Round, 1899, pp.268-9 no.736; see also Caley, 1810, pp.425, 427; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Round, 1899, p.279 no.772; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.325, 365; *idem*, 1923, p.764; Poole, 1907, p.60; Barlow, 1996b, pp.186-7 no.206. Robert of St Pancras was the 'prior in England for St Michael' in 1155, which may have been a general appointment,

Further information about Otterton's early history is limited, however. According to Domesday, Otterton was in the hands of countess Gytha in 1066, although it is not clear whether she held it as family land or as one of the putative 'comital' estates acquired by her late husband earl Godwine.⁵²⁸ The implication is that William I had granted Otterton to Mont St Michel after the Conquest, perhaps soon after 1068 when Exeter fell to the Conqueror and Gytha fled overseas, and this was certainly the view taken by an enquiry into the alienation of royal demesne made in 1212.⁵²⁹ Some sixty years later, however, the prior of Otterton stated to the jurors of Budleigh Hundred that it had been Edward the Confessor who had granted the manor to Mont St Michel, and claimed that king Edward's charter provided the justification for Otterton priory having withdrawn itself from the suit of the hundred.⁵³⁰ The putative charter has not survived nor is it referred to elsewhere; however, Otterton priory did possess a copy of another Edwardian charter in favour of Mont St Michel, albeit not one relating to land in Devon, and it may be that this latter charter had given rise to a spurious house tradition that associated Otterton with this grant.⁵³¹ Physical evidence relating to the church is also limited because the only medieval fabric to have survived a drastic rebuilding in the nineteenth century is the tower, which used to be a central tower dividing the nave and chancel but which now forms the south chapel; Polwhele hints at other remains in his own day but verification of these would now require excavation and

but Richard 'prior of Otterton' witnessed charters in 1161x1171 and 1173x1184, William 'then prior of Otterton' occurs as a witness in 1184, and prior Nicholas of Otterton occurs on several occasions between 1191x1205 and 1212: Oliver, 1846, pp.122 no.xv, 248, 256-9 no.xx (at p.257 nos.22, 37); Round, 1899, pp. 266 no.734 (*s.a.* 1155), 274 no.751 n5, 276 no.760; Reichel, 1912a, p.33 no.54; Stamp, 1926, p.280; Hull, 1962, pp.8 no.8, 39-40 no.56; Bearman, 1994, pp.188-9 no.16; see also Barlow, 1996b, pp.187-8 no.207. The abbey had also established a daughter priory at St Michael's Mount, Cornwall, in 1135: Round, 1899, pp.264-5 no.729; Hull, 1962, pp.xvii-xviii.

⁵²⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 11.1. Although it is difficult to distinguish between the private lands of the Godwine family and those acquired by virtue of their offices as earls, it is notable that the combined value of Gytha's holdings in Budleigh Hundred (Otterton and Woodbury) was £28, exactly half the £56 that seems to have been the 'basic unit' of valuation for comital manors in other parts of the country: see Clarke, 1994, pp.8-9, 15-23; see also Keynes, 1994, pp.70-4, 84-7, for the appointment and increasing influence of earl Godwine during Cnut's reign.

⁵²⁹ Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.95. It states that William I had given the manor of Otterton to the abbey in pure alms; see also Oliver, 1846, pp.249-50 no.1. For the fall of Exeter and Gytha's flight, see Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv [Chibnall, 1968-80, ii, pp.210-15, 224-9]; John of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, *s.a.* 1067.

⁵³⁰ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 92.

⁵³¹ *contra* Reichel, 1903, p.296. A copy of Edward the Confessor's charter supposedly granting land at St Michael's Mount in Cornwall (and elsewhere) to Mont St Michel abbey in 1027x1035 was preserved in the 'Otterton Custumal': S 1061; Oliver, 1846, pp.31 no.i, 256-9 no.xx (no.29); Hull, 1962, pp.x-xiii, 61; Keynes, 1991, pp.190-3.

a more detailed analysis of the remaining fabric.⁵³² Furthermore, the reference to Alric *prepositus* who witnessed a charter relating to Otterton alongside Jordan of Budleigh in 1157 proves to be inconclusive: although *prepositus* could refer to the head of a collegiate church and does not appear to have been an alternative term for 'prior' in local usage, which might indicate that Alric's position was a survival from an earlier religious community at Otterton, later local references to *prepositus* suggest that the secular sense 'reeve' is more likely.⁵³³

Nevertheless, this lack of reliable early information does not undermine the strong grounds that Otterton's entitlement to receive church-scot and its status as the mother church to Bicton - and to a lesser extent its inclusion among the 'middle group' of local churches valued at £10 or more in c.1291 - provide for supposing that it originated as a minster. In addition, it seems probable that Sidmouth, which appears to have been a dependency of Otterton long before its church was appropriated to Mont St Michel abbey in c.1205x1206, was also once part of Otterton's original parish.⁵³⁴ The chaplain of Sidmouth at the time of the appropriation was Richard (who was still the priest there in the early 1220s), to whom in 1200 the abbot of Mont St Michel had granted land and a tenement that had been held by Richard's father William; the significance of this is that an earlier grant, in 1175, referred to land held by 'William our clerk at Sidmouth' that had been 'held by his father before him'.⁵³⁵ This strongly suggests that the chaplaincy of Sidmouth was a hereditary position in the second half of the twelfth century, and it presents a striking parallel to the possibility noted above with respect to East Budleigh church in the same period. It

⁵³² Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.228-9; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, pp.101, 614-5.

⁵³³ For the various uses of *prepositus*, see note 501 above; see also Addleshaw, 1953, p.12; Barlow, 1996a, pp.liv-lv, pp.13-15 no.15. Other 'provosts' occur in connection with Mont St Michel's holdings in Yarcombe, Jersey and Caen during the mid-1150s: Round, 1899, pp.266-8 no.734. Although the mention of Alric *prepositus* pre-dates the earliest certain reference to a prior of Otterton in 1161x1171 (see note 527 above), in the years to either side of c.1200 there was a grant by abbot Jordan of a tenement that Ingolf 'the provost of Otterton before Bartholomew' had held of Mont St Michel, while in c.1220 'Robert the provost of Sidmouth' witnessed a charter alongside prior William de Kernet of Otterton: Oliver, 1846, pp.250-1 no.iv, 256-9 no.xx (no.74); for date, see Maxwell-Lyte, 1901, p.229.

⁵³⁴ Caley, 1810, pp.425, 427; Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.180-1, 260, 456; *idem*, 1892, p.260; Round, 1899, p.279 no.772; Barlow, 1996b, pp.186-8 nos.206-7, 253-4 no.283; Robinson, 1999, p.36 no.765. A late tradition was recorded by Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.235, who described a building (no longer extant) near Sidmouth beach that was 'said to have been a chapel of ease whilst Otterton church was the mother church'.

⁵³⁵ Oliver, 1846, pp.250 no.iii, 256-9 no.xx (nos.22, 55, 57).

is a feature to which we will return at a later stage, when we consider the possible relationship between the churches of Otterton and East Budleigh. Before doing so, however, we need to look at two other elements of the local tenurial and ecclesiastical landscape: firstly, the detached part of the royal estate of Budleigh that comprised the parishes of Harpford and Venn Ottery; and, secondly, another of Mont St Michel's possessions, Woodbury church.

* * *

The place-name Harpford derives from Old English *herepæd-ford* and means 'the ford on the army path', referring to its location where the old road from Exeter to Lyme Regis crossed the river Otter before passing through the 'Sidmouth Gap' in the prominent ridge that forms the eastern side of the lower Otter valley.⁵³⁶ The royal sub-holding associated with this important river crossing was not recorded separately in Domesday, so that although one early thirteenth-century source claimed that William I had granted Harpford to the Dinan family it seems more likely that they acquired it after the Conqueror's death.⁵³⁷ Indeed, it is probable that Harpford and Nutwell (in Woodbury) were the two unnamed English estates that Geoffrey de Dinan received from Henry I and subsequently granted to Marmoutier abbey in 1122; they were certainly named as the two estates confirmed to the abbey by Geoffrey's grandson Oliver in 1173, and in later records both manors occur as possessions held in free alms by Dinan priory, a daughter house of Marmoutier.⁵³⁸ No other Domesday holdings or medieval fees are known to have included lands within Harpford parish and it seems reasonable to assume that the parish was roughly coterminous with the manor, so it is perhaps surprising that neither the Dinan family nor Marmoutier abbey or Dinan priory appear to have held any patronal rights in Harpford church.

Instead, Harpford was one of the churches included when bishop Henry Marshal allowed Mont St Michel to appropriate its churches in the Exeter diocese in 1205, and the prior of the abbey's

⁵³⁶ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.590; Mills, 1998, p.167; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.90.

⁵³⁷ *contra* Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.96; see also Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,9 notes & DB 52,35 notes.

⁵³⁸ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 92; Round, 1899, pp.427 no.1181, 428 no.1185; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.325, 365; *idem*, 1912, p.404 no.532; *idem*, 1913, pp.22-5 no.44; *idem*, 1923, p.764; Chope, 1902, pp.420-1, 424 n7.

daughter house at Otterton is named as the patron of Harpford vicarage in subsequent records.⁵³⁹ In addition, the '*magister* Nicholas de Harpford' who was the vicar of Harpford in 1206x1212 also occurs alongside 'prior William of Otterton' among the witnesses to a charter issued at Mont St Michel by the abbot and convent in 1184.⁵⁴⁰ Clearly, Mont St Michel must have acquired the church at some point before this; yet given the apparent preferences of the Dinan family in terms of religious patronage, it seems unlikely that Geoffrey or Oliver would not have granted the church as well as the manor of Harpford to Marmoutier abbey or Dinan priory had this been within their power to do so.⁵⁴¹ The implication is that Harpford church was already in the hands of Mont St Michel, either as the result of an earlier grant or because it was attached to Otterton minster, by the time that this part of the royal estate of Budleigh was granted to the Dinan family in the early twelfth century. Nor is this the only evidence that points in this direction.

Upstream from Harpford and on the west bank of the Otter is the parish of Venn Ottery, the northern boundary of which appears to perpetuate that defined by the corresponding section of the charter bounds for Ottery St Mary in 1061.⁵⁴² Like Harpford, Venn Ottery was an outlying part of the large royal holding of Budleigh in 1066, and it remained so until Henry I granted it as a sergeantry to Geoffrey de Furneaux, who was the sheriff of Devon in the early 1130s and whose descendants retained the manor for more than two centuries thereafter.⁵⁴³ The church of Venn Ottery is first mentioned in 1206x1212 as a chapel belonging to Mont St Michel and appurtenant to the abbey's church at Harpford, and although it had acquired a cemetery and other parochial attributes by the early fifteenth century it was still regarded as a chapelry of

⁵³⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.102, 143, 332-3, 346; *idem*, 1892, p.220; Barlow, 1996b, pp.186-7 no.206, 253-4 no.283; see also Round, 1899, p.279 no.772.

⁵⁴⁰ Oliver, 1846, pp.256-9 no.xx (no.22); Round, 1899, p.276 no.760; Hull, 1962, pp.39-40 no.56.

⁵⁴¹ See above, and also Chope, 1902, pp.422-3.

⁵⁴² S 1033; DRO Venn Ottery tithe map (1839) [=PRO IR 30/9/433]; Rose-Troup, 1939, pp.212-13; Hooke, 1994, pp.208-11.

⁵⁴³ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 1,9 note; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.66, 92-3; Hunter, 1833, p.152; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.325, 365; *idem*, 1908, p.7 no.27; *idem*, 1912, p.391 no.508; *idem*, 1920, pp.95, 264; *idem*, 1923, pp.764, 1368; Reichel, 1903, p.297; Bearman, 1994, p.38; Barlow, 1996b, p.314 n66.

Harpford in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴⁴ Despite being a possession of the abbey, however, it is also apparent that the chapel at Venn Ottery was essentially a manorial chapel, because in 1259 John de Furneaux augmented its glebe in order to maintain a chaplain to celebrate divine service there; at the same time he confirmed the chapel's advowson to the abbey, which implies that the manorial lord retained some patronal rights in the chapel serving his holding.⁵⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the details given in subsequent ordinations for Harpford vicarage suggest that the responsibility for providing this chaplain ultimately lay with the prior of Otterton, even though this was discharged on his behalf by the vicar of Harpford.⁵⁴⁶

It seems highly likely that Venn Ottery church originated as a manorial chapel, most probably in the period after the sergeantry was detached from the parent estate of Budleigh and granted to the Furneaux family in the early twelfth century. It is also likely that Harpford church already existed when Harpford was granted to the Dinans and, therefore, at a time when both Harpford and Venn Ottery formed a discrete outlier of the royal estate of Budleigh. The implicit unity of this royal outlier is significant, because even though Venn Ottery's status as a chapelry of Harpford could have resulted from a convenient administrative arrangement on the part of the prior of Otterton, it remains probable that Harpford church had served the entire land-unit comprising the two later parishes before its components were alienated by Henry I. However, there is nothing to suggest that Harpford had exercised parochial authority over any church other than that of Venn Ottery, nor is its *Taxatio* valuation indicative of a church of 'superior' status, so the likelihood is that this royal outlier had lain within the original parish of a mother church

⁵⁴⁴ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.227 (*cf.* Youngs, 1979, pp.86, 92, 99); Caley, 1810, pp.425, 427; *idem*, 1814, p.309; Oliver, 1846, pp.256-9 no.xx (no.22); Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, pp.101-2; *idem*, 1889, p.102; Round, 1899, p.279 no.772; Youngs, 1955, p.7 no.8; Evans, 1969, pp.57, 80-1; Barlow, 1996b, pp.186-7 no.206 (MS F), 253-4 no.283. It should also be noted that Venn Ottery is not recorded in the *Taxatio* of c.1291, which is a further indication that it was not regarded as an independent parish church at that time.

⁵⁴⁵ John de Furneaux's grant was to 'the abbot and monks of St Michael's church', which shows that the abbey of Mont St Michel rather than its daughter priory at Otterton was the recipient, and a reference to 'their chapel of Venn Ottery' makes it clear that John's 'grant' of the advowson was in fact a confirmation: Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, p.227n; Oliver, 1846, pp.256-9 no.xx (no.21).

⁵⁴⁶ Hingeston-Randolph, 1886, pp.101-2; *idem*, 1889, pp.332-3, 346.

elsewhere.⁵⁴⁷ It seems reasonable to suggest that this mother church was either the minster that had served the royal estate of Budleigh or, as Mont St Michel already held the churches of both Harpford and Venn Ottery when they are first mentioned in surviving records, a minster that had come into the hands of Mont St Michel. These alternatives need not be mutually exclusive, and there is a distinct possibility that they in fact refer to one and the same church.

Before we attempt to draw together some of the threads from the preceding discussions, however, we need to turn our attention to Woodbury, the largest of the parishes on the eastern bank of the Exe estuary. The Domesday holding of Woodbury seems to account for much of the land within the parish and, like Otterton, it was held by the countess Gytha in 1066; it was taken into king William's hands after the Conquest and later became a sergeantry that had passed to the Aumâle family by the latter part of the twelfth century.⁵⁴⁸ Another Domesday holding lay at Nutwell in the south-west of Woodbury parish and was still held by the pre-Conquest holder Dunn in 1086, but after escheating to the crown it was granted to the Dinan family in the early twelfth century and by them to a daughter house of Marmoutier abbey.⁵⁴⁹ In addition, two small Domesday holdings may have lain wholly or partly within Woodbury parish. One of these, a holding of one virgate called *Heppastebe*, remains unidentified, although it is possible that it was in the area of Ebford or Exton, lying just to the north of Nutwell.⁵⁵⁰ The other was called *Landeshers* and may have been associated with Woodbury's parochial outlier at Houndbeare, located to the north of Aylesbeare parish, but this identification has not yet been proved.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.456.

⁵⁴⁸ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,33; see also *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.66; Reichel, 1903, p.288; Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.95; *idem*, 1923, pp.763, 782, 1189, 1250; Seymour, 1977, p.138 no.89. As with Otterton, it is not clear if Gytha held this manor as family land or as one of the putative 'comital' estates acquired by her husband earl Godwine.

⁵⁴⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 52,35; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, pp.66, 92; Round, 1899, pp.427 no.1181, 428 no.1185; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.325, 365; *idem*, 1912, p.404 no.532; *idem*, 1913, pp.22-5 no.44; *idem*, 1923, p.764; Chope, 1902, pp.421-3; see also discussion above regarding Harpford.

⁵⁵⁰ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 34,34. Domesday notes that this holding had been attached to that of Aunk in Clyst Hydon (*ibid.*, DB 34,18), which was held from William d'Aumâle in c.1285 and from 'Woodbury Honour' in 1346 (Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.333, 433), so it may be that *Heppastebe* had been assimilated into Woodbury.

⁵⁵¹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 14,4; see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1890, pp.217 B9, 223 B67, 242 B281; *idem*, 1903, p.242; *idem*, 1916, p.72 no.210; *idem*, 1923, p.762, 764, 782; Reichel, 1903, pp.287, 299-300; *idem*, 1912a, pp.69 no.132, 74 no.142, 148-9 no.297, 168 no.341, 331 no.649; Seymour, 1977, pp.141-2 & nos.101-2.

What is of particular interest for present purposes is that the Exchequer Domesday entry for the main Woodbury holding states that the manor's church, with slightly over one hide of land, was then held by the abbey of Mont St Michel; the *Exon* Domesday text adds the information that the church had been held by 'a priest' in 1066, although *Exon*'s figure for the church's land is half a hide less than that given by the Exchequer text.⁵⁵² The mention of this unnamed priest shows that the church was already held separately from the manor before the Conquest and, despite the uncertainty as to whether the church's land was assessed at more or less than one hide at the time of the Domesday survey, it appears that Woodbury church satisfies at least two of Blair's criteria for identifying churches of potentially 'superior' status.⁵⁵³ It is slightly surprising, therefore, to find that Mont St Michel's possession of the church in 1086 is recorded only in the entry for the (by then, royal) holding of Woodbury and is not cross-referenced in the chapter of Domesday dealing with the abbey's fief, although this may simply have been a scribal oversight. In any event, it seems reasonable to assume that Mont St Michel would have acquired Woodbury church at the same time at which it acquired Gytha's former holding at Otterton, and the abbey certainly held the church during the twelfth century.⁵⁵⁴ In 1205, however, having first secured the church against any potential claim by the manorial lord of Woodbury, the abbey granted Woodbury church to the bishop and chapter of Exeter, apparently in exchange for permission for Mont St Michel to appropriate its other churches in the Exeter diocese; the bishop, in turn, granted the church to the vicars choral of Exeter cathedral.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵² Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,33 & notes. The Exchequer text gives a figure of 1 hide, 1 virgate and $\frac{1}{2}$ *ferling* for the church's land whereas the *Exon* text gives this as $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, 1 virgate and $\frac{1}{2}$ *ferling*. Assuming that the difference represents a scribal error (rather than an augmentation of the church's endowment made after 1066 but before the Exchequer Domesday was written), then it does not seem possible to determine which of these figures is correct. It has been suggested that the church's endowment is represented by the later farms of Heathfield, Redhills, Little Pilehays and Bealsground, in the north-west of Woodbury parish: Reichel, 1898, pp.289-90 (but *cf idem*, 1903, p.300; Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.210-11).

⁵⁵³ The tenure of the church was separate from the parent manor and its land was also assessed and valued separately (at 20s) in 1086: see Blair, 1985, p.106 and *cf* n10 (although note that Woodbury is not included in Blair's own map of 'superior' churches based on his criteria: *ibid.*, fig.7.1 p.110).

⁵⁵⁴ Round, 1899, pp.268-9 no.736; see also *ibid.*, p.276 no.758, where Ralph *clerico de Wodebir[ia]* witnesses a charter of 1176x1178 whereby the bishop of Winchester restored a church to Mont St Michel's possession.

⁵⁵⁵ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.292; *idem*, 1894, p.28; Round, 1899, pp.279-80 nos.771-3; Poole, 1907, pp.60-1; Reichel, 1912a, p.33 no.54; Stamp, 1926, p.280; Barlow, 1996b, pp.177-9 nos.196-8, 186-8 nos.206-7, 227 no.251.

It seems that there are reasonable grounds for suggesting that Woodbury originated as a church of 'superior' status, even though explicit evidence in support of this suggestion is lacking. Nevertheless, and without wishing to prejudice unduly discussions reserved for a later stage, it must be admitted that there are few signs that the church's parochial jurisdiction had once extended much beyond the boundaries of its nineteenth-century parish. Apart from perhaps its parochial outlier at Houndbeare, which appears to have been associated with Woodbury manor in or before the early thirteenth century,⁵⁵⁶ the most likely candidate for inclusion in an original parish dependent upon Woodbury church is Lymptone, whose church is first mentioned in 1251 and seems always to have been in the possession of the Aumâles, who were by then the manorial lords of Lymptone as well as Woodbury.⁵⁵⁷ There is no indication that it was ever an important church, and a topographical clue as to its origins is provided by the way in which a large area of commons, on the hills that divide the Exe estuary from the Otter valley, is divided between adjacent parishes. Lymptone Common is a narrow strip forming the eastern part of the parish, and the configuration of the boundaries here suggests that the division of commons between Lymptone and Woodbury parishes and between East Budleigh and Withycombe Raleigh parishes are of later date than, or at least subordinate to, the corresponding boundaries between Woodbury, East Budleigh and Bicton parishes.⁵⁵⁸ The evidence is not conclusive, but it seems likely that Lymptone had originated as a manorial chapel whose parochial independence was achieved at the expense of a mother church at Woodbury and its original parish. Very much more speculatively, and as noted in an earlier section of the present chapter, one can also suggest the parishes of Clyst St George and Clyst St Mary as possible parts of Woodbury's putative original parish on purely topographical grounds; but there is at present no unequivocal

⁵⁵⁶ Reichel, 1912a, p.74 no.142; see also references given in note 551 above.

⁵⁵⁷ Polwhele, 1793-1806, ii, pp.212-3; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 1812, p.66; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.152; *idem*, 1892, pp.32, 233; *idem*, 1899, p.1330; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.325; *idem*, 1900, pp.432 D228, 443 D324; *idem*, 1923, p.764; Reichel, 1903, p.299; *idem*, 1912a, pp.33 no.54, 120-2 no.248, 269-70 no.533, 275-6 no.544; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 26,1.

⁵⁵⁸ DRO Bicton tithe map (c.1844) [=PRO IR 30/9/38], East Budleigh tithe map (c.1845) [=PRO IR 30/9/86], Lymptone tithe map (1840) [=PRO IR 30/9/266], Withycombe Raleigh tithe map (c.1839) [=PRO IR 30/9/454], Woodbury tithe map (c.1841) [=PRO IR 30/9/456].

supporting evidence for this suggestion and the matter is best left open until such time as the parishes of the Clyst valley can be examined in detail, for which there is not space here.⁵⁵⁹

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The preceding discussions have shown that East Budleigh church was almost certainly the mother church - possibly originating as a minster, served by more than one priest - for an original parish that comprised the three later parishes of East Budleigh, Withycombe Raleigh and Littleham. This mother church was in the hands of Mont St Michel abbey in 1156 but not in 1152, and it is not known if East Budleigh church represented a recent acquisition or a restoration of property lost previously. In either case, the abbey's possession of East Budleigh church may not have been a direct consequence of Henry I's grant of East Budleigh manor to the abbey in 1123. The discussions have also shown that Otterton church probably originated as an 'old minster', with an original parish that included the later parishes of Otterton, Bicton and Sidmouth, and that it is likely to have come into Mont St Michel's hands together with the Domesday holding of Otterton and Sidmouth during the reign of William I. Woodbury church was also acquired by Mont St Michel during William's reign, and may have been a church of 'superior' status with an original parish that included the later parishes of Woodbury and Lymptone. Finally, it is probable that the later parishes of Harpford and Venn Ottery were once a single land-unit and that this had been subject to a mother church that either was associated with the royal estate of Budleigh or had come into the possession of Mont St Michel, or both.

Apart from the various local relationships that enable us to reconstruct these groupings of parishes, however, an obvious factor that draws all ten parishes together is Mont St Michel's possession of each of the key churches of East Budleigh, Otterton, Woodbury and Harpford for part if not all of the period between the Conquest and the late twelfth century. The question that needs to be addressed is that of what underlies this tenurial unity: is it simply the result of one or

⁵⁵⁹ See section 3.2.2 above (at pp.145-6).

more post-Conquest grants to the abbey, or does it reflect a feature of pre-Conquest ecclesiastical arrangements? However, given the limited extent of our early sources, it is not a question to which a definite or unqualified answer can be given.

The key issue here is the ecclesiastical relationship - if any - between the putative minsters at Otterton and East Budleigh, and this in turn hinges mainly on the interpretation of two points: the entitlement of Otterton minster to receive church-scot from the inhabitants of Yettington, and Mont St Michel's possession of Harpford church. The most straightforward and likely explanation of the church-scot reference is that Otterton was an 'old minster' founded before the early tenth century and probably before the late eighth century.⁵⁶⁰ Against this could be set the possibility that this entitlement to church-scot had been usurped by Otterton from an 'old minster' that had also come into Mont St Michel's hands, for which the obvious candidate is East Budleigh;⁵⁶¹ but the inclusion of the former royal sub-holding at Yettington within the later parish of Bicton rather than that of East Budleigh together with the remarkably detailed description of the entitlement itself both tend to weigh against this possibility. On balance, it seems more reasonable to accept that Otterton's claim to Yettington's church-scot was a genuine and long-established one, and this also implies that Otterton's original parish - the area from which it received church dues - was of similar antiquity. Furthermore, the proximity of Otterton minster to East Budleigh and the inclusion of lands on both sides of the river within Otterton's original parish render it highly unlikely that East Budleigh church had been founded as a minster of equal status or antiquity. It seems more probable that East Budleigh church was established at a later date than the 'old minster' at Otterton and that East Budleigh's original parish had once been part of Otterton's original parish. Indeed, it may be that East Budleigh church originated as a parochial chapel of Otterton and that Mont St Michel acquired the church because it was still

⁵⁶⁰ See chapter 1.2 above, esp. p.14 note 48.

⁵⁶¹ See section 3.3 above (at p.160 note 301).

subject to Otterton minster at the time of the Conquest; but even if the abbey only acquired East Budleigh church in the early 1150s, the interpretation suggested above would still stand up.⁵⁶²

In any event, it seems probable that Otterton church originated as an 'old minster' founded before the tenth century and with an original parish that included the later parishes of Bicton, East Budleigh, Littleham, Otterton, Sidmouth and Withycombe Raleigh. It is possible that this original parish was closely associated with a territory administered from the *villa regalis* at East Budleigh, but this need not imply that it had included all of the lands that constituted parts of the royal estate of Budleigh in 1066.⁵⁶³ In the light of what has already been said about the parishes of Harpford and Venn Ottery it is likely that Harpford church was directly or indirectly subject to Otterton minster, and that it came into Mont St Michel's possession because of this dependent status. While this strongly suggests that Harpford and Venn Ottery lay within Otterton's parish at the time of the Conquest, there may however be some grounds for suggesting that they had not been part of Otterton's original parish. The evidence is highly circumstantial, but given our general lack of reliable early information it cannot entirely be dismissed.

Immediately to the north of Harpford and Venn Ottery is the large parish of Ottery St Mary, which encompasses the full width of the middle Otter valley and its confluence with the river Tale. It is possible that some land here was the subject of a grant by king Edgar to one Wulfhelm in 963, but there are serious difficulties in accepting this identification.⁵⁶⁴ Rather more certain is

⁵⁶² This does not contradict the earlier suggestion regarding the status of East Budleigh church, because a parochial chapel could be staffed by more than one priest and would be regarded as a 'minster' both in the late Anglo-Saxon law-codes and by contemporaries: see Brooke, 1982, pp.697-8; Foot, 1992, *passim*; Blair, 1995, pp.194-6. Another possibility is that East Budleigh was a 'hundredal' minster founded in the tenth century (on which see e.g.; *ibid.*, pp.196-7; *idem*, 1985, pp.118-19), in effect - if not practice - a royal manorial chapel within Otterton's original parish.

⁵⁶³ It should also perhaps be pointed out that although East Budleigh was the royal hundredal manor at the time of the Domesday survey, it need not have been either the earliest or the only *villa regalis* in the area.

⁵⁶⁴ S 721. Although the charter bounds clearly refer to land beside the river Otter, there are grounds for believing that they have become attached to a grant that in fact refers to land at Othery in Somerset (see Abrams, 1996, pp.189-91; the place-names are discussed in chapter 4.3 below). Even if the S 721 bounds do define a land-unit called 'Ottery' - which is no longer certain - then Domesday records twelve holdings in the Otter valley called 'Ottery' and it cannot be assumed that the bounds refer to Ottery St Mary unless the bounds themselves provide evidence to support this (see Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 10,1; 16,135; 19,27; 19,34; 19,42-3; 23,18; 23,21; 34,32; 34,45; 34,47; 34,50). However, the only boundary points apart from the river Otter that perhaps can be associated with minor-names in Ottery St Mary are *putte* with Pitt farm and *holangcombeheued* with Holcombe, neither of which is a particularly uncommon place-name, and there is little agreement on the identifications of the other boundary points (*cf.* Finberg,

that in 1061 Edward the Confessor granted Ottery St Mary to the cathedral church of St Mary at Rouen, and that the charter boundaries in this instance can be shown to be almost identical to those of the early nineteenth-century parish; a secondary clause defines an internal boundary between ‘*Wiggin* land’ to the south and ‘Ottery land’ to the north, roughly bisecting the parish from east to west, although its context is not entirely clear.⁵⁶⁵ By 1086 the twenty-five hides at Ottery St Mary were regarded as a discrete manorial hundred and the manor remained in Rouen’s possession until the 1330s, when bishop Grandisson acquired it and established a new collegiate church there.⁵⁶⁶ That the earlier church had been an extremely wealthy one is shown by its valuation of £26 13s 4d in the *Taxatio*, which provides a strong indication that the church originated as one of ‘superior’ status; that having been said, however, it must also be admitted that supporting evidence is scarce and there is no unambiguous documentary record to show that the church was originally served by more than one priest.⁵⁶⁷

Nevertheless, it seems highly unlikely that such a large (and previously royal) manor would have been without some kind of local ecclesiastical provision by the late Anglo-Saxon period, and with this in mind there is a topographical clue that may be significant. Although the internal boundary between ‘*Wiggin* land’ and Ottery St Mary defined by the charter of 1061 has not yet fully been resolved it clearly cuts across the full width of the Otter valley from east to west, and Rose-Troup has suggested that it defines two previously separate manors that were combined to form the single manor of Ottery St Mary that was granted to Rouen.⁵⁶⁸ The suggestion is a reasonable one (although ‘previously distinct royal sub-holdings’ might be a better description), in keeping with

1960, pp.25-6; Hooke, 1994, pp.168-72). Until these difficulties are resolved, therefore, neither the grant to Wulfhelm nor the boundary clause now associated with it can safely be accepted as referring to land in Ottery St Mary.

⁵⁶⁵ S 1033; DRO Ottery St Mary tithe map (c.1845) [=PRO IR 30/9/314]; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.603-4 n1, 607; Rose-Troup, 1939, pp.206-16; Keynes, 1988, pp.200-1; Hooke, 1994, pp.207-12.

⁵⁶⁶ Oliver, 1846, pp.259ff; Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.473, 475; *idem*, 1897, pp.648-9; Round, 1899, p.3 no.11; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, p.383; *idem*, 1923, pp.763-4; Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 10,1. The church was rebuilt on a lavish scale and Grandisson was equally generous when endowing his new foundation; consequently, neither the extant fabric nor later documentary records are of much help to us in reconstructing the earlier history of Ottery St Mary church.

⁵⁶⁷ Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.216, 456; Round, 1899, pp.3 no.11, 16 no.60 [on which see now Kemp, 2001, p.31 no.42]; Robinson, 1999, p.38 no.777; see also the witness-lists in Oliver, 1849, pp.256-9 no.xx (no.22); Poole, 1907, pp.58-9 (mss. 378, 1557).

⁵⁶⁸ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.604 (*s.n.* Belbury) & n; Rose-Troup, 1939, pp.205, 215-16; Hooke, 1994, pp.211-12.

the pattern of landscape division evidenced by the parishes of Venn Ottery and Harpford to the south, and we can perhaps regard '*Wiggin* land' as a proto-parish whose development was arrested by Rouen's exercise of *seigneurie banale*. By the same token, however, this pattern of landscape organisation may indicate that Harpford and Venn Ottery had been closely associated with the former royal manor of Ottery St Mary prior to the latter's alienation in 1061. If so, then these royal sub-holdings at Harpford and Venn Ottery may only have become associated with the royal estate of Budleigh - and directly or indirectly with Otterton's original parish - after their parent manor was granted to Rouen.⁵⁶⁹ Although it remains likely that Harpford and Venn Ottery were parts of Otterton minster's original parish at the time of the Conquest and may have been so from the time of its foundation, therefore, we cannot discount the possibility that they were very recent 'captures' from an original parish served by a 'superior' church at Ottery St Mary.

Similar uncertainties surround the possibility that Mont St Michel acquired Woodbury church because it was also regarded as a possession of Otterton minster. Admittedly, it could be for this reason that the abbey's possession of Woodbury church in 1086 was not cross-referenced in the Domesday chapter dealing with the abbey's fief, rather than the omission being simply a scribal oversight; and although this begs the question of why the entry for Woodbury manor mentions the separate tenure of its church whereas the entry for Budleigh does not, the fact that Woodbury church had an endowment of more than half a hide of land may have been the determining factor in this instance.⁵⁷⁰ However, the matter is best left open until we have considered the parish of Colaton Raleigh, which is bounded to the west, south and east by the parishes of Woodbury, Bicton and Otterton respectively and which on these topographical grounds alone seems likely to have been closely associated with at least some of the parishes discussed above.

⁵⁶⁹ The shared place-name of Ottery St Mary and Venn Ottery need not be significant in this instance as many places along the Otter derived their names from that of the river, including Otterton: see note 564 above, and Appendix II below; the possible contexts for place-names derived from river-names are discussed briefly in chapter 4.3-4 below.

⁵⁷⁰ That the Exchequer scribe did not include the information given by the *Exon* Domesday about Woodbury church being held by a priest in 1066 suggests that it was the fact that the church's land did not form part of the royal manor that was important, not the entitlement to hold that land (which would be implicit if Woodbury church was a possession of Otterton minster). East Budleigh church had only a small amount of glebe according to later medieval sources: Lega-Weekes, 1937, p.453; Youngs, 1955, pp.31-2 no.38.

The parish of Colaton Raleigh lies mainly in the Otter valley, although Hawkerland, in the north-western part of the parish, includes an area to the west of a ridgeway (described as a *herepæd* in the bounds of Ottery St Mary in 1061)⁵⁷¹ that follows the watershed between the Otter and Exe river systems. In the southern part of the parish there was a Domesday holding of one hide at Stowford that passed from Aldnoth to Richard, a sub-tenant of Hugh of Averanches, after the Conquest, while at nearby Blackberry there was apparently a sub-holding of the royal estate of Budleigh that, like Yettington, eventually passed to the Poer family.⁵⁷² The main Domesday holding within the parish, however, was that of Colaton itself. Harold held it as earl before he became king in 1066; like the rest of his lands it was acquired by William I and it remained in royal hands until Henry I granted it to Harding de Meriet, son of Eadnoth the Staller, in exchange for the manor of Topsham.⁵⁷³ William Briwere appears to have become the middle lord of Colaton in the early thirteenth century and to have granted some of its lands to the abbey he had founded at Dunkeswell, while by the 1240s the tenants of the main holding were the Raleighs, from whom the manorial suffix of the modern place-name derives.⁵⁷⁴

We cannot be sure that ‘Ordric the priest’, who was named first among the members of one of the two late eleventh-century guildships at *Colatune*, indicates the contemporary existence of a church at Colaton Raleigh, but physical remains show that the church certainly existed well before c.1200 even though the earliest surviving reference to it dates from the early thirteenth

⁵⁷¹ S 1033; Rose-Troup, 1939, p.214; Hooke, 1994, p.211; *idem*, 1999, map 14.7.

⁵⁷² For both holdings, see Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,9 (note); 14,3; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.364, 426; *idem*, 1923, pp.762, 782, 790; for the links between Stowford, Houndbeare and *Landeshers*, see also note 551 above; for a possible association of Blackberry with the sergeantry at Bicton rather than East Budleigh, see Maxwell-Lyte, 1890, p.242 B281; *idem*, 1903, p.14; Reichel, 1903, p.287. In addition, lands in the area of Stowford and Blackberry were granted to Torre abbey in the mid-thirteenth century: see Seymour, 1977, pp.143-4.

⁵⁷³ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 1,46; Reichel, 1903, pp.286-7; *idem*, 1912a, pp.29-30; Maxwell-Lyte, 1920, p.96; see also references given in following note. For Harding son of Eadnoth, see section 3.2 (at p.78 note 59) and section 3.2.2 (at pp.136, 146-7 note 254) above; see also Keats-Rohan, 1999, p.244.

⁵⁷⁴ Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.364, 426; *idem*, 1903, pp.17-18; *idem*, 1923, pp.762, 783. For the status of William Briwere’s heirs as middle lords, see also Maxwell-Lyte, 1908, pp.293-5 no.527; *idem*, 1920, p.399; Reichel, 1912a, pp.380-2 no.733; Sanders, 1960, p.123. Dunkeswell abbey held lands at ‘Colaton Abbot’ and Hawkerland in Colaton Raleigh parish: see Caley, 1814, p.304; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.474; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.364, 426; *idem*, 1923, pp.762, 783; Reichel, 1912a, p.79 no.152; Youings, 1955, pp.31-2 no.38, 78 no.78, 118 no.123.

century.⁵⁷⁵ It was apparently then in the hands of the manorial lord, because soon after his relative and namesake, bishop William Brewer of Exeter, established an elective dean for the Exeter cathedral chapter in 1225, William Briwere granted Colaton Raleigh church as part of the endowment for the new office.⁵⁷⁶ Later records such as visitations and ordinations of the vicarage mention chapels of St Theobald and St Andrew (one of which may have been associated with the dean of Exeter's residence) from the fourteenth century onwards, but they provide no significant reason to suppose that Colaton church had once been served by more than one priest and its valuation in the *Taxatio* does not indicate a particularly wealthy church by local standards.⁵⁷⁷ Although the available evidence is limited, therefore, it suggests that Colaton Raleigh church was not of 'superior' status and is perhaps most likely to have originated as a manorial chapel.

Another factor to be taken into account, however, is the parochial outlier of Colaton Raleigh at Bystock, which formed an enclave within Withycombe Raleigh parish. Although Bystock appears to have passed into the hands of Polsloe priory by the late thirteenth century it was held by subtenants of the Meriets in the 1240s, which suggests that Bystock formed part of Colaton Raleigh when that manor was granted to Harding de Meriet in the early twelfth century.⁵⁷⁸ Similarly, although the earliest reference to their parochial affiliation is that the tithes from Bystock formed part of the income for the vicar of Colaton Raleigh in 1269, it seems more likely that Bystock's status as a parochial outlier of Colaton represents the retention or recognition of

⁵⁷⁵ A Norman font, a reset early piscina, and a north aisle of c.1200 all point to the existence of a church at Colaton by at least the latter part of the twelfth century: Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.273. The form *Colatune* given in the guildship lists (on which see section 3.2.2 above, at pp.146-8 & note 254) almost certainly refers to Colaton (which also fits the main geographical distribution of the other guilds) rather than Colyton or Cullompton, *contra* Thorpe, 1865, p.609; Barlow, 1963, p.198; Allan *et al.*, 1984, p.405; Rosser, 1988, p.33 n12. The usual early forms (i.e. pre-c.1200) for Colaton are *Colet~* or *Colat~*, whereas those for Colyton are *Cul(i)(n/m)t~* or *Coli(n)t~* and those for Cullompton are *Colum(p)t~*, *Cul(i)(n/m)t~* or *Coli(n)t~*: see e.g. Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.560, 587, 620-3 (although note that the forms cited there are incomplete and, in a couple of instances, incorrect or incorrectly identified).

⁵⁷⁶ Poole, 1907, p.66; Barlow, 1996b, pp.221-2 no.245.

⁵⁷⁷ Caley, 1814, p.295; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.52, 456, 465; *idem*, 1892, pp.108-9; *idem*, 1897, pp.795, 1020-1; Whitley, 1910, pp.463-4; Seymour, 1977, p.144 no.105; Cherry & Pevsner, 1991, p.273; Robinson, 1999, p.36 no.766.

⁵⁷⁸ Bystock was held by the Ashton family as subtenants of the Meriets in c.1242 and 1303, but it was recorded in the hands of Polsloe priory in the *Taxatio* of c.1291 and (as subtenants of John Belston, the Ashtons' successor) in 1346, whereafter Polsloe retained it until the Dissolution: Caley, 1814, p.315; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.475; Maxwell-Lyte, 1899, pp.365, 427; *idem*, 1923, pp.763, 783; Lega-Weekes, 1937, pp.464-5; Youings, 1955, pp.54-5 no.59. Reichel, 1903, p.291, suggested that Bystock represents the unnamed half-virgate held by a thegn in 1066 that Domesday notes as having been added to the king's manor of Colaton by 1086, but this identification cannot be proved.

manorial rights that originated before, rather than after, the boundaries of East Budleigh's original parish were established.⁵⁷⁹ In addition, and by analogy with the earlier discussion with regard to Lymptone parish, the configuration of the boundaries dividing the commons that lie between the parishes of Woodbury, Bicton and Colaton Raleigh suggests that the delineation of the boundary between Bicton and Colaton Raleigh parishes is of later date than, or at least subordinate to, the eastern boundary of Woodbury parish.

Taking these manorial, parochial and topographical relationships together, it appears that there had been a tripartite division of the commons between the original parishes of Woodbury and East Budleigh and a single ecclesiastical unit comprising the later parishes of Bicton and Colaton Raleigh, and that East Budleigh's original parish is likely to have been established at a later date than the formation of the association between Bystock and the manor of Colaton (or perhaps an earlier secular land-unit from which that manor developed). Furthermore, if Bicton and Colaton Raleigh once comprised a single ecclesiastical unit and Bicton originated as a manorial chapel within Otterton minster's original parish, then the implication is that Colaton Raleigh had also formed part of Otterton's original parish. This certainly seems more likely than the two most obvious alternatives, namely that Colaton Raleigh had once lain either within the original parish of Ottery St Mary or in that of Woodbury.

However, this topographical analysis and interpretation of the parochial boundaries carries with it a further implication, which is that the formation of Woodbury's original parish would appear to pre-date both the division of the ecclesiastical unit comprising Bicton and Colaton Raleigh and the establishment of East Budleigh's original parish. Although this may seem to be too tenuous a hint on which to base a suggestion that the pre-Conquest and apparently 'superior' church at Woodbury originated as a fully independent minster, this does represent a valid alternative to the suggestion that the post-Conquest tenurial link between Woodbury church and the minster at

⁵⁷⁹ Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, p.52; *idem*, 1897, pp.1020-1; Robinson, 1999, p.36 no.766.

Otterton reflects an earlier parochial relationship. Of course, it remains possible that the pre-Conquest holdings of the Godwine family at Woodbury, Otterton, Sidmouth and Colaton, whether or not they originated as ‘comital’ estates, had been royal lands in the early eleventh century and that as such they were once part of a single royal estate and within the original parish of the mother church associated with it; but the sequence of assumptions involved here is both unsubstantiated and dangerously circular. For similar reasons we cannot assume that Ottery St Mary was associated either with the royal estate of Budleigh or with the original parish of Otterton minster; in turn, the doubts raised with regard to the original parochial affiliations of Harpford and Venn Ottery mean that it is not possible to assign the parish of Dotton - and probably the eastern part of Aylesbeare parish - to either Ottery St Mary’s or Otterton’s original parish, because in the virtual absence of other suitable evidence its allocation to one or other of these must be based on its topographical relationship to them.⁵⁸⁰ If the churches of Ottery St Mary and Woodbury were once dependent upon a single mother church at Otterton, whose original parish was defined in relation to the territory associated with a *villa regalis* that developed to become the late eleventh-century *caput* of Budleigh Hundred, then the surviving sources are too limited and fragmentary for us to demonstrate this.







* * *

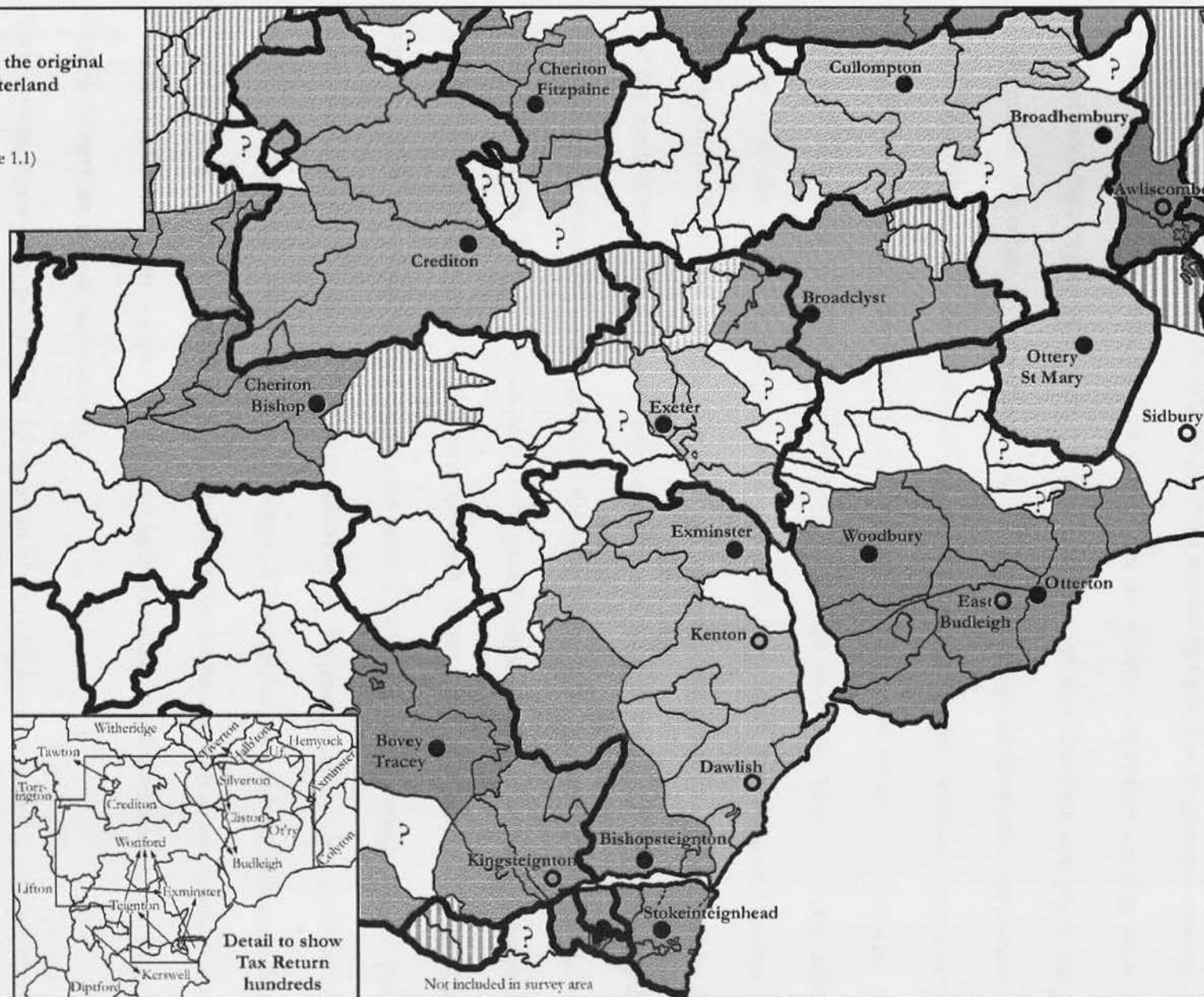
Here, albeit to a lesser extent than in some of the earlier examples, we encounter a recurrent theme of the four case studies that have been discussed in this chapter. The information derived from the various parish analyses - both from those examined in detail and, to a lesser extent, from those for which only a provisional summary has been possible - provides an incomplete but representative sample of the original parishes of the Exeter hinterland area (see Fig. 3.2). It has been apparent from the preceding discussions that the pattern of early medieval landscape

⁵⁸⁰ The evidence relating to Dotton is collected and discussed in Orme, 1987. For Aylesbeare, see Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 14,4 (on which see note 551 above); 16,136 (and references given there); see also Oliver, 1846, pp.256-9 no.xx (no.23); Hingston-Randolph, 1889, pp.23, 111, 335, 389, 456; *idem*, 1897, pp.619-20; *idem*, 1899, p.1285 & n2; Maxwell-Lyte, 1903, pp.17-18, 243; *idem*, 1906b, pp.50-3 no.71; Reichel, 1912a, pp.123-4 no.253.

Figure 3.2: Partial reconstruction of the original parishes of Exeter's hinterland

(Note: scale of main map as for Figure 1.1)

-  Areas regarded as parts of the same original parish
-  Other areas that are likely to have been parts of that original parish
-  Areas that cannot yet be assigned to a particular original parish
- (Note that areas left blank have not been covered in the present chapter)
-  Mother church for original parish (where known or within survey area)
-  Other probable 'superior' church
-  Probable late eleventh-century hundredal boundaries



organisation represented by these original parishes has some similarities to that of the Domesday hundreds. Sometimes one or more original parishes appear to have a close correspondence to all or part of a Domesday hundred, and in these cases we cannot determine whether these two patterns of landscape organisation were coeval or whether one was based on, and presumably of later origin than, the other. In some cases, however, the differences between the two patterns are significant and, where the evidence allowed us to examine these further, it seemed that a suitable description for the pattern represented by the original parishes concerned is 'pre-hundredal'.

Yet while Domesday provides an absolute *terminus ante quem*, we have no other reliable indication as to the likely chronological implications of the phrase 'pre-hundredal' within the context of the Exeter hinterland area; was the local hundredal system introduced during the first half of the tenth century as appears to have been the case in other parts of Wessex, for example, and, if so, did it then remain unchanged until the time of the Domesday survey?⁵⁸¹ Approaching the problem from the other side, it has often been possible to argue that all or part of a particular original parish was in existence by the early eleventh century and in some cases it has been possible to extend this *terminus ante quem* into the second half of the tenth century. At that point, however, we meet with a major limitation inherent in the methodology that underlies the approach adopted in the present chapter: conceptual boundaries can at best indicate a likely relative chronology unless they can directly or indirectly be associated with some datable feature, and the Exeter hinterland area is one in which securely dated and suitable sources earlier than the mid-tenth century are almost non-existent.

Nevertheless, it has been possible to demonstrate the probable existence of a 'mother church system' in the Exeter hinterland area and to argue that a significant proportion of the area's identifiably 'superior' churches probably - and in some cases certainly - existed in or before the early tenth century. What has not been possible is to demonstrate that those 'superior' churches

⁵⁸¹ See chapter 2.3 above (at pp.49-53).

also possessed their original parishes by that time, which means that to use the models offered by the 'minster hypothesis' to augment our chronology for this local 'mother church system' involves assumptions that cannot yet be supported by local evidence. Admittedly, there is a suspicion that if this local system of ecclesiastical provision had been introduced in conjunction with or subsequent to the local hundredal structure - and particularly if this was part of an integrated royal policy - then we might expect to have found a much higher degree of correlation between the original parishes and the Domesday hundreds than has been the case. Against this, however, is the possibility that the bishop, major churches and other important landholders were able to use their influence to effect alterations to the hypothetical 'original' hundredal pattern that served their local interests. These are clearly matters of interpretation and, like the 'minster hypothesis' itself, they remain open to debate and can neither be proved nor be disproved on the basis of the surviving evidence so far considered from the Exeter hinterland area.

There is one point that deserves further mention, however. It was noted earlier that the name of the river Vine Water, on the eastern boundary of Feniton parish in the south-eastern corner both of Broadhembury's original parish and of the Domesday hundred of Silverton, preserves a British or Primitive Cornish word meaning 'boundary'.⁵⁸² Not only must this river-name have been coined and had significance before Primitive Cornish ceased to be spoken within Exeter's hinterland, but it must also have been communicated to and adopted by speakers of Old English. The implications of this latter process are perhaps as important as the possibility that here we have evidence of continuity for a pre-English conceptual boundary, and they suggest a promising way forward. All of the case studies presented here have tended towards an approach based on retrogressive analysis; but in the next chapter we will try to establish a context within which to reconsider the findings of the present chapter by looking at the evidence, as it were, 'the right way round'.

⁵⁸² See section 3.4 above (at p.203 & note 462).

Chapter 4

The contextual background: the kingdom of Dumnonia and the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control in Exeter's hinterland

4.1: From *civitas* to kingdom, c.350 to c.650.

During the Roman period, the peninsula comprising the modern counties of Devon and Cornwall lay within the *civitas* of the Dumnonii, a Brittonic tribe or tribal confederation that seems to have included at least one sub-group, the Cornovii.¹ The extent of the *civitas* on its eastern, landward side is uncertain. However, the usual Roman policy was to incorporate the pre-eminent tribal groupings and their élites into the imperial administrative structure of the *civitates*, and this tended to preserve and presumably reinforce the existing tribal territories and social hierarchies.² If this is what happened in south-western Britain, then the distributions of late Iron Age coins and hillfort-types suggest that the river Parrett formed the boundary between the Dumnonii and the neighbouring tribe, the Durotriges, which means that the western part of the modern county of Somerset - and perhaps of Dorset also - lay within the *civitas* of the Dumnonii.³

Unfortunately, much of the early archaeological work in the peninsula tended to focus on the prominent sites of Dartmoor, west Cornwall and, to a lesser extent, Exeter. Despite the increased efforts to begin to redress this balance during the last twenty years, notably the major contribution being made by aerial photography, so much remains uncertain with respect to the Roman, post-Roman British and Anglo-Saxon periods that our present understanding of them could be entirely transformed by the thorough excavation of a single rural settlement site in

¹ Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.85, 325, 342-4, 350; Todd, 1987, pp.167, 216-7. The presence of the Cornovii is suggested by a restored (but unlocated) place-name form **Durocornovium* derived from the Ravenna Cosmography, although it is not clear whether this means 'fort of the worshippers of the horned-god' or 'fort of the people of the promontory'.

² Millett, 1990, pp.65-9; Dark & Dark, 1997, p.90; de la Bédoyère, 1999, pp.15-7.

³ Bidwell, 1980, pp.8-9; Jones & Mattingly, 1990, maps 3.3, 3.10-12, 5.11; Costen, 1992, pp.19, 23.

central Devon.⁴ Even at Exeter, where about one-twentieth of the area within the walls has been excavated, our information is often limited by the damage caused by later medieval and modern urban developments that extend down into the Roman levels.⁵ Nevertheless, it is becoming apparent that the agricultural exploitation of the Exeter hinterland area was extensive and supported a sizeable population during the Roman period, and this implies the ability to produce a substantial agricultural surplus.⁶ With the exception of Exeter itself, which was the *civitas* capital and the only truly urban settlement, the present body of evidence also suggests that 'villas' and other Roman-style buildings were relatively uncommon features of the local landscape, and that the adoption of 'romanised' models of behaviour was not widespread among the rural population. However, it seems probable that part of the agricultural surplus that remained, after official taxation, was rendered to the local native élite, who combined roles appropriate to their status as land-owning members of the 'Roman' curial class with those relating to their traditional positions within a hierarchy of tribal patronage networks.⁷

As with the *civitates* in more 'romanised' areas, that of the Dumnonii was affected by several widespread developments in the later Roman period. Although the building of masonry town-houses in Exeter during the third and fourth centuries suggests a degree of prosperity, for example, this may be part of a general trend in which the residential functions of the *civitas* capitals increased as their importance as industrial and economic centres began to decline.⁸ Similarly, while the extensive refurbishment of the basilica in the mid-fourth century points to a continued judicial and executive role for the city, changes in the taxation system initiated at the end of the third century seem to have led to the devolution of many fiscal and related functions

⁴ For useful summaries of the evidence and problems relating to the settlement archaeology of the Roman period (and others) in south-western Britain, see Quinnell, 1986, pp.130-1; Todd, 1987, pp.32-3, 223-8; Griffith, 1996, *passim*; Edwards, 1996, *passim*; Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.85-91; Griffith & Quinnell, 1999, pp.62ff, 74-6.

⁵ Bidwell, 1979, p.22; Allan *et al.*, 1984, pp.385-6; Todd, 1987, p.206.

⁶ The most recent survey of the available evidence concluded that it indicated 'extensive use of the countryside in the Roman period and thus the existence of a sizeable population': Griffith & Quinnell, 1999, p.76.

⁷ Thomas, 1981, p.242; Quinnell, 1986, pp.122-4, 130; Todd, 1987, pp.213-4; Millett, 1990, p.180; Dark, 1994, pp.43-4; Dark & Dark, 1997, p.90.

⁸ Bidwell, 1980, pp.67ff; Todd, 1987, pp.212-3; Millett, 1990, pp.163-4.

to outlying *pagi* associated with members of the local *curia*.⁹ In this context, the evidence for an increased use or re-use of several hillfort sites in the late Roman period could be seen both as reflecting this devolution and as a local parallel to the relocation of the principal residences of the urban élite from the town to the countryside that has been noted in areas with a ‘villa landscape’, which together gave rise to what have been described as power structures focussed ‘through central persons rather than central places’.¹⁰ It has to be emphasised that this hypothesis is based upon extremely limited and often circumstantial local evidence, heavily supplemented by research derived from other parts of Roman Britain. Nevertheless, it provides us with a basis from which to try to assess what is likely to have happened when the *civitas* of the Dumnonii, like the rest of the diocese of Britain, ceased to be a part of the Roman empire.

Despite the disruption resulting from the revolt by Magnus Maximus in 383, formal links between the British diocese and the imperial government lasted until the series of British usurpers during the period 406–c.410, while intermittent relations with the prefecture of Gaul may have persisted into the 430s or even the 440s. We do not know if any remaining government officials at the diocesan and provincial levels managed to maintain a degree of administrative unity in Britain after the events of c.410 and the apparent expulsion of imperial representatives, but the archaeological evidence for a rapid collapse in the large-scale monetary, industrial and presumably trade infrastructures makes the prospect seem unlikely.¹¹ It seems more probable that political and economic structures within the diocese became increasingly fragmented and localised. However, the writings of St Patrick mention that his father was a decurion (and was also a deacon in the Christian Church), probably referring to some point in the late 420s; and this, from our only near-contemporary British witness, implies that at least one of the former

⁹ Bidwell, 1979, pp.104, 107–9 (for the refurbishment of Exeter’s basilica); Millett, 1990, pp.149–51, 180. A *pagus* was an administrative sub-division of the *civitas*.

¹⁰ For developments with respect to the ‘villa landscape’, see Millett, 1990, pp.196–7 (from which the quotation is taken); de la Bédoyère, 1999, pp.74–5. For the use of hillforts, see Todd, 1987, pp.228–9; Salway, 1993, pp.328–30; Dark, 1994, pp.42–3.

¹¹ Esmonde Cleary, 1989, pp.138–42; Millett, 1990, pp.226–7; Salway, 1993, pp.306–8, 330–4, 466–7; Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.140–1.

civitates retained some semblance of a curial administration.¹² There are also a few hints derived from continental and later writers that, although ambiguous, may point in the same direction.¹³ In a *civitas* such as that of the Dumnonii, therefore, where the native *curia* appears to have retained a resource network at least partly independent of the collapsing Roman infrastructure, the possibility that these 'central persons' were able to maintain their positions of authority is certainly worth considering.

* * *

So far as the archaeological evidence from the post-Roman period is concerned, the first and most important point to be made is that, whatever may have happened at the industrial and urban centres, there is no evidence for a widespread or dramatic decline in agriculture and population levels.¹⁴ Although it seems likely that there was indeed a gradual demographic decline during the two or three centuries following the Roman period - which had witnessed population levels that were not achieved again until after the Norman Conquest - the overall pattern suggests a continuity of landscape use in all regions except perhaps in northern England. The limited pollen evidence from south-western Britain supports the general trends noted elsewhere, with the maintenance of a cleared agricultural landscape in Somerset, Dorset and east Devon, but a reduction of use in marginal areas such as Exmoor.¹⁵

Whether this continuity of landscape occupation also represents a continuity of settlement types and locations, however, is a question that we cannot answer as yet. Apart from Exeter, which will be discussed separately, only about a dozen post-Roman settlement sites in Devon and Cornwall have been subjected to even limited modern archaeological investigation (see Fig. 4.1).¹⁶

¹² Patrick: *Epistola*, §10; *Confessio*, §1 [the text used is that of Hood, 1978]; Thomas, 1981, pp.319-20 (who also, p.332, suggests the possibility that Patrick himself was eligible to inherit decurial status after his father's death).

¹³ See, for example, Dark, 1994, pp.50-3.

¹⁴ Esmonde Cleary, 1989, pp.158, 174-5; *idem*, 1993, p.55; and see discussion in chapter 1.1 above (at pp.5-6).

¹⁵ Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.143-4. The chronology of the limited comparative data for Cornwall is ambiguous: see Burton & Charman, 1995.

¹⁶ This and the following observations are derived from the reports and summaries provided by: Thomas, 1982; Quinnell, 1986, pp.115, 122-9; Preston-Jones & Rose, 1986, pp.138-9, 146; Todd, 1987, pp.252-6, 262-6; Dark, 1994,

Figure 4.1: The archaeological evidence relating to the former *civitas* of the Dumnonii in the 5th to 7th centuries

On both maps:

Imported pottery (after Thomas 1988 & Dark 2000)

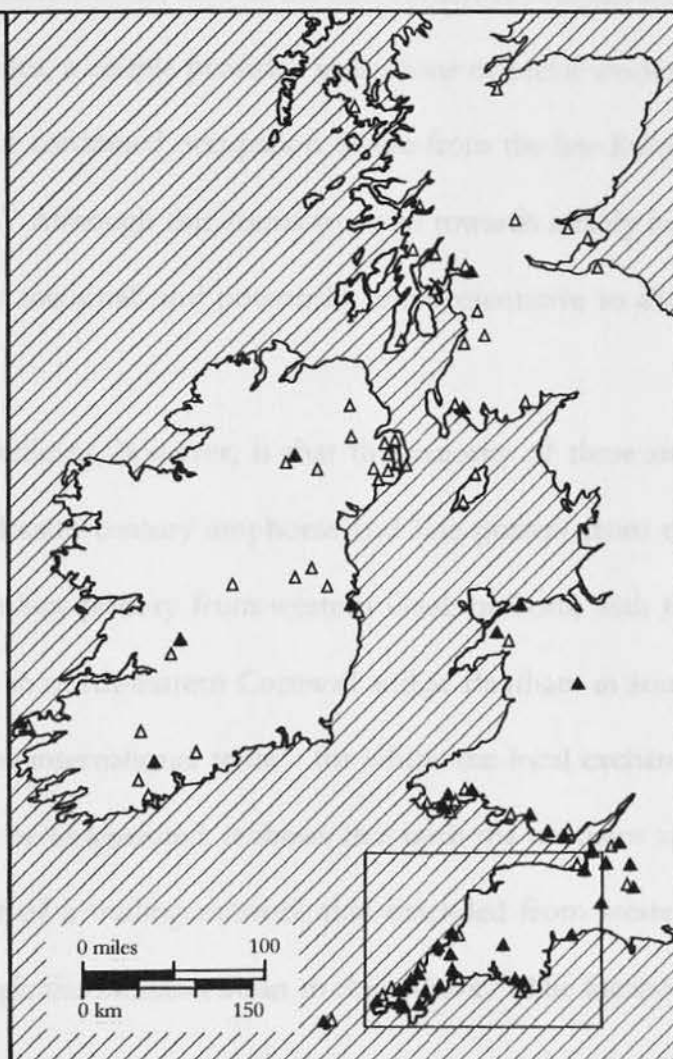
- ▲ Mediterranean 'A' & 'B' wares (c.450-c.550)
- △ West Gaulish 'D' & 'E' wares (c.500-c.700)

On Dumnonian map only:

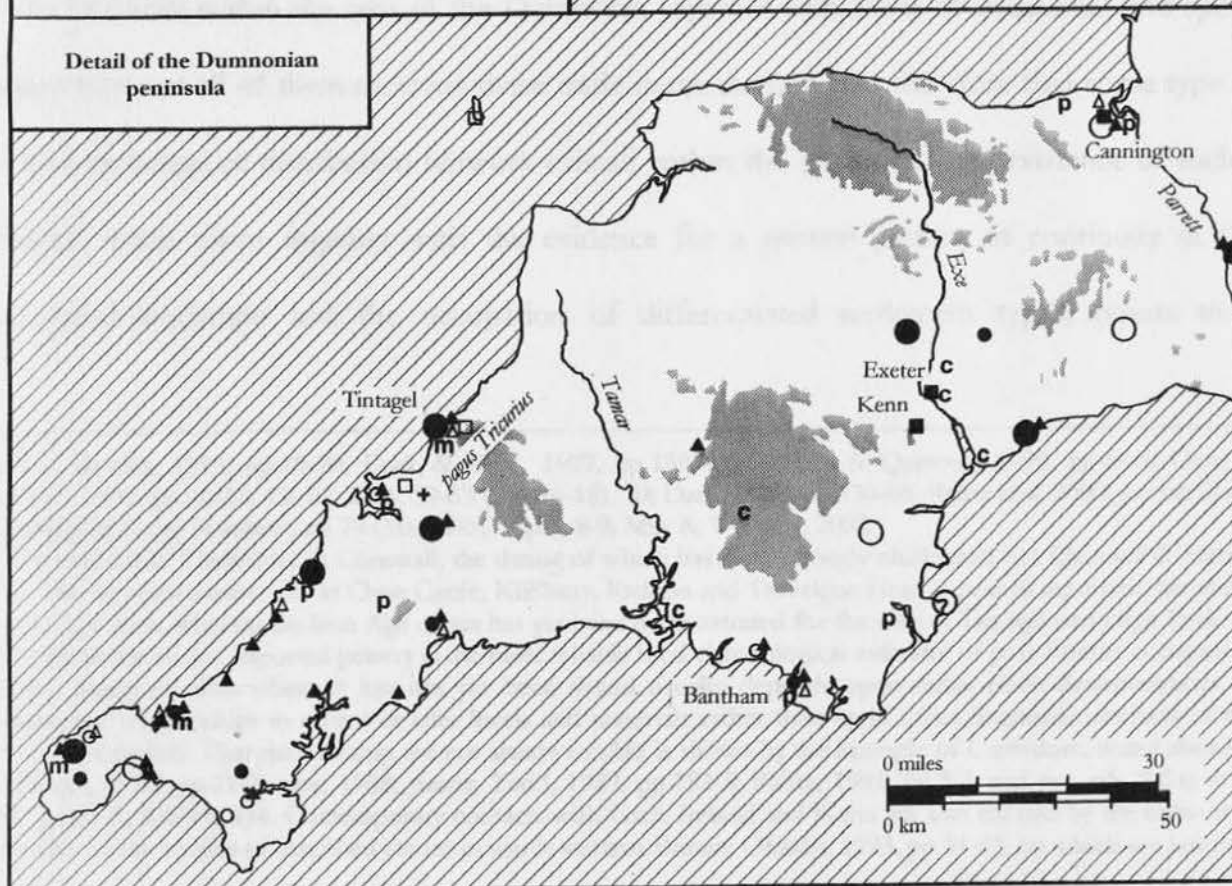
- Probable occupation of fortified earthwork
- Possible occupation of fortified earthwork
- Other settlement site
- Probable settlement site
- Cemetery in use during 5th or 6th century
- Cemetery probably used in 5th or 6th century
- m Evidence for metal-working
- p Finds of post-Roman penannular brooches
- c Putative finds of Byzantine coins

Other details:

- Land above 250m
- + Monastery of *Docco* mentioned in *Vita Samsonis*



Detail of the Dumnonian peninsula



Of these, many were located in coastal or estuarine areas, four of the six promontory- or hill-forts represented the reoccupation of Iron Age sites, a couple provided indications of metal-working, and at least seven showed some evidence for continued occupation or use from the late Roman period into the sixth and seventh centuries.¹⁷ Although this seems to point towards a fairly high level of settlement continuity, the sample is too small and potentially unrepresentative to allow any firm conclusions to be made.

What is perhaps most surprising and significant, however, is that the majority of these sites have yielded sherds either of late fifth- and sixth-century amphorae and fine pottery from the Mediterranean, or of sixth- and seventh-century pottery from western Gaul, or both, with the largest assemblages being found at Tintagel in north-eastern Cornwall and at Bantham in south Devon.¹⁸ While the potential volume of this international trade - for which the local exchange commodity may have been tin - should not be exaggerated, it shows that both the northern and southern coasts of the peninsula were part of a trading network that extended from western Britain and Ireland, via western Gaul, through the Mediterranean to Asia Minor.¹⁹ The locations of the find-sites within the area of the Dumnonii, together with those of occasional find-spots, suggest that not all of them received these trade items directly, and therefore that some type of internal exchange or distribution network existed within the peninsula. The existence of such a network, when taken together with the evidence for a general pattern of continuity in the agricultural landscape and the occupation of differentiated settlement types, points to a

pp.91-4; Snyder, 1996, pp.19-30; Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.139-40; Griffith & Quinnell, 1999, pp.64-5; Gent & Quinnell, 1999, pp.10-14, 19, 22, 24-6, 59-63 (figs.16-18), 70; Dark, 2000, pp.150-68; Rahtz *et al.*, 2000, *passim*, *Devon Archaeological Society Newsletter*, no.79 (May 2001), pp.1, 8-9; May & Weddell, 2002.

¹⁷ This total omits Castledore in Cornwall, the dating of which has been strongly challenged: see Quinnell & Harris, 1985. The fortified earthworks at Chun Castle, Killibury, Raddon and Trevelgue Head appear to represent the re-use of Iron Age forts, whereas no Iron Age origin has yet been demonstrated for the sites at Tintagel and High Peak.

¹⁸ The presence of this imported pottery is the most reliable local chronological indicator of post-Roman occupation, and the dating of sites where it has not yet been found usually depends upon radiocarbon determinations or stratigraphic relationships to earlier or later levels and materials rather than upon other diagnostic artefacts of the post-Roman period. That such datings are not always reliable is shown by the example of Castledore, noted above.

¹⁹ Thomas, 1982, pp.21-7; *idem*, 1988, *passim*; Todd, 1987, pp.252-5; Rahtz, 1991, pp.3-5, and esp. n5; Rahtz *et al.*, 2000, p.293-5, 309-11, 424. Contemporary contacts with Gaul, Ireland and Wales are also attested by the influences detectable in the corpus of inscribed stones in south-western Britain: Okasha, 1993, pp.31-42, on which see below.

considerable degree of hierarchical organisation in both resource exploitation and society. The continued dominance of the local Romano-British native élite and their descendants, as suggested above, provides the most obvious explanation of this archaeological evidence.²⁰

No imported pottery, nor local post-Roman pottery (i.e. dating from after the early fifth century), has yet been recovered from Exeter itself. However, a number of late fifth- to seventh-century Byzantine coins - once regarded as spurious but now accepted as probably genuine - have been found at Exeter, Poltimore and Exmouth, which suggests that Exeter and the Exe estuary may also have formed part of the trade network described above.²¹ Other evidence of post-Roman activity at Exeter is limited and far from conclusive. Where the late Roman levels have survived, a humus-rich 'dark earth' deposit containing small fragments of pottery, charcoal, tiles, bone and other materials overlies them.²² Such 'dark earth' deposits are present at most Romano-British towns, and their interpretation remains problematic - they have variously been seen as evidence of disuse or of partial or even dense occupation - and we are clearly not yet in a position to understand the significance of this deposit at Exeter.²³

Yet we know that the city was not completely abandoned, because the most important discovery at post-Roman Exeter has been that of the earliest of a series of cemeteries overlying the late Roman basilica and forum [hereafter 'cemetery I']. The parts of these buildings lying within the excavated area had been deliberately demolished and the site cleared prior to the change of use, so either the central aspects of curial administration had ceased to function by then or they had been transferred to another site.²⁴ Although the remains of only six burials from cemetery I were recovered, these had clearly formed part of an organised and extensive burial area that shared the same north-west to south-east alignment as the Roman city and presumably

²⁰ See also Todd, 1987, p.236, and Dark, 1994, pp.91-4, who reach similar conclusions.

²¹ Pearce, 1970, pp.29-32; Todd, 1987, pp.214-6, 236, 255 *contra* Bidwell, 1980, pp.3, 86-7; but *cf* Dark, 2000, p.162. Single Byzantine coins are also recorded from Plymouth, Princetown in Dartmoor, and Porthellick in the Scilly Isles.

²² Bidwell, 1980, pp.85-7.

²³ See Dark & Dark, 1997, pp.120-2, for a recent discussion of the possibilities.

²⁴ Bidwell, 1979, pp.110-11.

was aligned in relation to a surviving feature lying outside the excavated area.²⁵ Two of the burials provided radiocarbon dates in the ranges *c.*350-*c.*490 and *c.*410-*c.*570 respectively, so it seems probable that cemetery I was in use for at least most of the fifth century.²⁶ In addition, the diversity of lifestyles indicated by the skeletal remains does not suggest that burial was restricted to a small population or specialist community.²⁷ An approximate *terminus ante quem* for the end of cemetery I is provided by the next cemetery in the sequence, cemetery II, which was aligned west-east and from which the only datable object was a gold ring described as 'mid-Saxon'.²⁸ Cemetery II was itself overlain by cemetery III, the alignment of which can be associated with the late Anglo-Saxon minster.²⁹ Although no datable or stratigraphic continuity between the three cemeteries has been established some form of continuity seems highly probable, and the suggestion that cemetery I represents an area of Christian rather than pagan burial is certainly reasonable.³⁰ Furthermore, a sherd from a late Roman cooking-pot, with a graffito *chi-rho* symbol of a type that began to appear after the mid-fourth century, was found in the 'dark earth' near the site of the forum.³¹ The low intrinsic value of the pot makes it likely that the graffito was of personal significance to a local resident rather than a previous owner living elsewhere. Obviously, this need not imply the presence of practising Christians in Exeter itself, but it is not the only evidence to suggest the presence of Christians in the Exeter area by the late Roman period.

Recent rescue excavations in advance of a gas mains in the parish of Kenn revealed part of an extensive cemetery that appears to have been in use from the late Roman until the early medieval

²⁵ Bidwell, 1979, p.112.

²⁶ Bidwell, 1979, p.111. The bone samples, HAR-1614 and HAR-1613, were assigned radiocarbon dates of $ad420 \pm 70$ and $ad490 \pm 80$ respectively (given to one standard deviation); so far as I am aware they have not been recalibrated.

²⁷ C. Wells, 'Report on five post-Roman skeletons', *apud* Bidwell, 1979, 245-50 (but note that there appears to be some confusion between OB278 and OB486 in the details as presented). The presence of an elderly female with a delicate diet, a male heavy labourer and fragmentary infant remains, together with the evidence for considerable genetic variation between the skeletons, all combine to suggest that these burials represent a diverse local population rather than a religious community, *contra* Henderson, 1999, p.486.

²⁸ Bidwell, 1979, p.113; Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, pp.148-54; Allan *et al.*, 1984, pp.389ff. Todd, 1987, p.290, suggests that the gold ring could 'square with a date of 900 or somewhat later'.

²⁹ Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, pp.152-4, 159, 164-5; see Fig. 3.1 & chapter 3.2 above (at pp.62-3).

³⁰ Bidwell, 1979, pp.112-3; Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, p.156; Orme, 1991a, p.2.

³¹ Bidwell, 1980, pp.85-7; Thomas, 1981, pp.86-9 (for the development of the *chi-rho* symbol), 99-101, 107-8.

periods. Twenty of the graves contained Romano-British pottery post-dating the mid-fourth century, and bone samples from other graves have produced radiocarbon dates centred on the early sixth and mid-seventh centuries.³² A small number of early burials were aligned south-west to north-east, but at some point during the fourth century a west-east alignment was adopted that persisted for the duration of the cemetery's use, and this change of burial practice has been suggested as representing the influence or adoption of Christian practices. The excavated area exposed over one hundred graves including five 'mausoleum enclosures' and, despite being heavily truncated, displayed remarkably close parallels to the Romano-British Christian cemetery discovered at Poundbury near Dorchester, the *civitas* capital of the Durotriges.³³ Further parallels are suggested by the rural cemetery excavated at Cannington, lying to the west of the river Parrett in Somerset and perhaps therefore in Dumnonian rather than Durotrigean territory (at least during the Roman period, if not later), and which remained in continuous use from the fourth century until the seventh or early eighth century.³⁴

As with cemetery I at Exeter, we cannot be absolutely certain that the people buried during the earliest phases at Kenn or Cannington were indeed Christians; but on balance, it seems highly probable that Christianity had begun to be established within at least the eastern parts of the *civitas* of the Dumnonii before the end of the Roman period. Indeed, given the imperial recognition and patronage of Christianity during the fourth century, together with the evidence for an established episcopal structure based on the *civitates* within the other provinces of the Gallic prefecture and for bishops in the provincial capitals of Britain by c.314, it seems reasonable to expect that a *civitas* capital such as Exeter would have been served by a bishop by the late fourth century, even if Christians formed only a predominantly élite or urban minority within the

³² The C¹⁴ dates were calibrated to ad530±130 and ad647±107, but no further details are available. A full report on the cemetery in Kenn parish [the precise location of the site cannot be disclosed] has not yet been published at the time of writing, although brief summaries have appeared in *Devon Archaeological Society Newsletter*, no.65 (Sept. 1996), pp.1-2, and no.68 (Sept. 1997), p.4. Some of my information about the site derives from valuable discussions with two of the excavators, Andrew and Samantha Sage, in summer 1996, for which I am most grateful.

³³ For Poundbury (where the third phase of the cemetery is the one paralleled at Kenn), see Green, 1982, pp.61, 63ff.

³⁴ Rahtz, 1991, pp.10, 13-5; *idem et al.*, 2000, pp.405-25.

local population.³⁵ What is considerably less certain is the degree to which Christianity had penetrated into the central and western parts of the peninsula by this time. The variously explicit and implicit Christian contexts of the inscribed stones in this area may be indicative of the subsequent adoption of Christianity throughout the peninsula, at least among those people able to commission such monuments. However, precise dating of any individual stone is impossible and the range of possible dates often extends from the fifth century into the eighth century or later, so the discussion of the corpus as a whole is best postponed until we have considered a more reliable source of information relating to the peninsula in the early sixth century.

* * *

The earliest documentary reference to Dumnonia, the post-Roman polity to which the Dumnonii gave their name, occurs in the *De Excidio Britanniae*, an elaborately structured sermon by the British ecclesiast Gildas against the failings of the rulers and churchmen of his day.³⁶ The exact date at which Gildas was writing remains something of an open question, although a date between c.520 and c.540 seems the most probable.³⁷ Similar difficulties arise when we try to locate Gildas within the *Britannia* about which he was writing, and these limit not only our interpretation of the quasi-historical *narratio* with which he begins his sermon but also our ability to ask questions such as how and where he acquired what appears to have been a traditional, and secular, Roman education.³⁸

³⁵ This seems to be a general consensus, albeit with various and occasionally major qualifications: Thomas, 1981, pp.59, 155-8, 193-8, 266-71, 351-4; Frend, 1982, pp.6-7, 11; Davies, 1982, pp.169-71; Bassett, 1989a, pp.226-8; Esmonde Cleary, 1989, pp.35-6, 121, 128; Orme, 1991a, pp.1-2; Salway, 1993, pp.236-8, 322, 512-29; Edwards, 1996, pp.49-51; Dark, 2000, pp.18-19; Handley, 2001, pp.186, 197-8.

³⁶ Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, the text and translation used here are those of Winterbottom, 1978 [hereafter *DEB*, cited by chapter].

³⁷ The present state of the debate is conveniently summarised, with references, by Dark, 1994, pp.258-60. The fundamental discussion of Gildas's internal chronology by Dumville, 1984 (summarised on pp.83-4), needs to be qualified in the light of the observations made by Higham (1992, pp.156-7) regarding the letter to Aëtius, although Higham's over-reliance on the Gallic Chronicles (on which see Wood, 1984, pp.17-21, and especially p.19 n139) means that we are not required to accept the remainder of his argument.

³⁸ The *narratio* comprises *DEB* §§2-26. On the problems of locating Gildas, see Sims-Williams, 1983, pp.5-20; Dumville, 1984, *passim* & pp.78-81; on his education, see Lapidge, 1984, especially pp.48-50.

However, whether or not Gildas was originally from the north of Britain, as suggested by some modern scholars on the basis of a perceived 'northern bias' in his version of late fourth- and fifth-century events, is not directly relevant here because Dumnonia was peripheral to most of the events described. What is of greater importance to us is where Gildas was living at the time of writing, when his sermon becomes a contemporary witness rather than hearsay or tradition, however and wherever received. The five rulers whom he addresses directly can all be associated with successor states within the western parts of what had been the late Roman province of Britannia Prima.³⁹ In addition, he seems to have had detailed information about recent events in Dumnonia; and, although certainty is impossible, the suggestion that Gildas was then living within the former *civitas* of the Durotriges - whose presumed ruler or leadership is not among those directly criticised in the sermon - has much to recommend it.⁴⁰

The Britain that Gildas describes is one that has been partitioned, with some of the more eastern parts being under Anglo-Saxon control and the remainder being under British control, and there has been relative peace between the two during the forty-three years of his own lifetime.⁴¹ Among the various independent polities that have emerged within the British territories, however, civil wars continue in the form of internal power struggles and external raiding.⁴² The rulers of these British polities are variously and collectively described by Gildas as kings, tyrants and judges (*reges, tyrannos, iudices*) - terms that he uses interchangeably for literary effect, and that need not reflect the titles by which these rulers referred to or legitimised themselves.⁴³ It is also apparent that some of the rulers of his own day represent at least the second or third generation of established ruling families; and although he does not provide us with any clear idea as to how their predecessors came to power, this would appear to have

³⁹ DEB §§28-36. For the possible extent of Britannia Prima, the provincial capital of which was probably Cirencester, see Millett, 1990, pp.132-4 & fig.56; Jones & Mattingly, 1990, p.148 & map 5:7; Salway, 1993, pp.217-8.

⁴⁰ Higham, 1991, pp.368-9; Dark, 1994, pp.260-6.

⁴¹ DEB §§10, 25-6.

⁴² DEB §§26-7, 30, 32-3.

⁴³ DEB §27 *et passim*, Schaffner, 1984, pp.153-4.

occurred within the first two generations following the ending of Roman rule.⁴⁴ Within each of the successor states, and forming a visible part of the ruler's basis of power, there appears to have been an armed élite that included members of the ruler's family and troops attached to his household (*commanipulares*) and, despite Gildas's criticisms, their courts seem to have been regarded as sources of justice and patronage.⁴⁵ This is clearly a society for which the description 'early medieval' now seems more appropriate than 'sub-Roman' and, whatever the actual titles used by their rulers, it seems more appropriate to refer to the various polities as 'kingdoms'.⁴⁶ Furthermore, this was an overtly Christian society, with a well-established and wealthy Church under episcopal jurisdiction, various forms of coenobitic life, and a hierarchical clergy who were sufficiently integrated into secular society as to be open to charges of corruption, simony and nicholaism.⁴⁷ It seems obvious that these secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies must have been able to command sufficient resources from the rural population to support them, and therefore that the model of an organised society and landscape deduced from the archaeological evidence appears to be confirmed and clarified by Gildas's account.

In the polemic that Gildas directs against Constantine, the *tyrannicus* of Dumnonia, he specifies adultery, sacrilege and 'putting away his lawful wife' among a generalised catalogue of moral failings that is broadly similar to those of the other rulers whom he castigates.⁴⁸ However, Constantine's major crime is that he has recently murdered two royal youths (*regii pueri*) beside the altar of a church and - what makes it even worse from Gildas's point of view - while Constantine was clothed in an abbot's habit. As both of the youths were of an age at which they could bear arms, it seems probable that their deaths were connected with a conflict between rival factions within the ruling élite; but although a subsequent comment could be interpreted to suggest that

⁴⁴ DEB §§21, 25, 31, 33; Dumville, 1984, p.69.

⁴⁵ DEB §§27-8, 30, 33.

⁴⁶ Yorke, 1990, p.7.

⁴⁷ DEB §§26, 28, 34-5, 65-7, 69, 106, 108-9; Dumville, 1977, p.181; Davies, 1982, pp.170-1.

⁴⁸ DEB §§28-9. In most manuscript recensions the form used by Gildas is given as *Damnoniae* (or variants thereof) rather than *Dumnoniae*, which might represent either a scribal error or a deliberate pun: Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.342-3; Dark, 1994, p.102.

Constantine had since gone into hiding, we are given no further details about the crime or its context. What is perhaps more significant is how Constantine apparently was able to combine his position as ruler with the office of an abbot.⁴⁹ It certainly implies that at least one Dumnonian monastery was controlled by the secular élite, but does it also point to a particular characteristic of ecclesiastical organisation in Dumnonia?

For the time being, the question seems to be unanswerable. On the one hand, even if the conversion of Dumnonia did not begin in earnest until the fifth century, it might be reasonable to suppose that its ecclesiastical practices and structures would still have developed along similar lines to those of the Christianised parts of late Roman Britain and would have led to the establishment of at least one territorial bishopric, based perhaps in or near the former *civitas* capital at Exeter.⁵⁰ This is certainly what appears to have happened in Wales, where the bishops subsequently retained their jurisdictional authority as well as their spiritual functions within the Church, despite the increasing numbers and influence of monastic foundations.⁵¹ On the other hand, this pattern of development should not be seen as inevitable. In late fifth-century Ireland, for example, the Church also seems to have been governed by bishops whose territorial dioceses were coterminous with the petty kingdoms that they served. Yet by the seventh century this Irish episcopal system existed in parallel with one comprising networks of private monasteries governed by abbots whose positions were often hereditary, and who by the early eighth century had replaced the bishops as the dominant foci of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and administration,

⁴⁹ When Gildas recounts that Constantine had taken an oath to abstain from treacheries against the citizens (*quo se devinxit nequaquam dolos civibus*) yet had then committed the murders, he is describing events that had occurred within the preceding year and perhaps within the past month. The oath and the fact that Constantine was apparently an abbot have sometimes been interpreted to mean that Constantine had renounced his 'kingship' (e.g. Todd, 1987, p.237); but Gildas addresses Constantine very much as if he were still the ruler of Dumnonia, and there are no parallels to the type of language used by Gildas to address Maelgwn of Gwynedd, a ruler who had briefly embraced monasticism before returning to secular politics: *DEB* §34. Nevertheless, by the late eleventh century, Welsh and Cornish tradition suggested that Constantine later repented and became a monk, and he was subsequently regarded as a local saint: Orme, 2000, pp.94-6.

⁵⁰ Yorke, 1995, pp.153-5, suggests (albeit *ex silentio*) that such a development is likely because Gildas makes no distinction between ecclesiastical practices in Dumnonia and those in the other polities whose rulers he criticises.

⁵¹ Hughes, 1981, pp.3-9, 12-3, 15; Davies, 1982, pp.141, 149, 160, 163-4.

with the bishops retaining little more than their spiritual functions.⁵² In the virtual absence of further evidence relating to the development of the Church in Dumnonia, therefore, it is probably better at this stage to allow for a variety of possible models.

* * *

One body of evidence that certainly cannot be used to provide us with further information for this period is the large collection of saints' *Lives* relating directly or indirectly to Dumnonia, which are creations of later medieval hagiography that merely project their heroes' activities onto an idealised 'age of saints' set in the sixth and seventh centuries.⁵³ There is, however, one possible exception to this general rule. The *Life* of St Samson of Dol, who appears to have lived at roughly the same time as Gildas and to have attended a synod in Paris in the 560s, is generally accepted as being both earlier than, and of a different character from, the other hagiographical texts.⁵⁴ Even so, the work is by no means contemporary and must be used with caution. It was written, probably in the late seventh or early eighth century, by a Breton monk who claimed to have based it upon second- and third-hand oral accounts, an earlier written work, and visits to some of the sites in Dumnonia and Wales.

According to the *Life*, Samson was a monk from Demetia (modern Dyfed) who, after an early life spent in south Wales and Ireland during which he became both abbot and then bishop and developed an enthusiasm for rigorous monasticism, crossed to the northern coast of Dumnonia. He was dissuaded from visiting a monastery at *Docco* (now Lanow, in St Kew parish, Cornwall)⁵⁵ because one of its monks, Iuniavus, told him that they did not meet - or welcome - his exacting standards. Soon afterwards, he corrected the behaviour of some local people and their leader

⁵² Hughes, 1981, pp.1-2, 12, 15; but cf. Sharpe, 1984, p.201 (who suggests that we do not have sufficient data regarding the early British and Irish Churches 'to allow genuinely comparable models to be formed'); Thomas, 1998, pp.82-3.

⁵³ Todd, 1987, pp.240-1; Yorke, 1995, pp.161-2. For further discussion of the Breton and Welsh *Lives*, see: Pearce, 1978, pp.128-31; Davies, 1982, pp.141, 207-8, 215-6; Orme, 2000, pp.17-20.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Hughes, 1981, p.4; Davies, 1982, p.215; Thomas, 1994, pp.223ff, Orme, 2000, pp.7-8, 229. I have not yet been able to examine the latest edition of Samson's *Life*, completed by P. Flobert in 1997.

⁵⁵ There is a tenth-century charter relating to the monastery at *Landochou*. S 810; the bounds are discussed by Hooke, 1994, pp.33-7.

(*comes*) Vedianus, whom he found playing games by a standing-stone or image in the *pagus Tricurius* (Trigg, in north-eastern Cornwall).⁵⁶ Accompanied by Vedianus, his people and his warband (*exercitus*), Samson then travelled towards the south coast and, after killing a serpent in a cave(!), founded a new monastery nearby which he left in the care of his father and cousin before sailing to Brittany. Despite the hagiographical nature of its content and purpose, the *Life* appears to confirm the existence of established monastic communities in Dumnonia and suggests that at least one of these was founded by a family with similar interests elsewhere.⁵⁷ It also provides evidence - through Samson's travels and those of the Breton monk during his research - for the movement of people and ideas between Ireland, Wales, Dumnonia and Gaul, and thereby adds a further dimension to the network of trading contacts suggested by the archaeological evidence.⁵⁸

What is perhaps most valuable for our purposes, however, is the hint about secular organisation given in the reference to Vedianus, *comes* of the *pagus Tricurius*. Obviously, the writer of the *Life* may have been using the terms *comes* and *pagus* in a purely descriptive way rather than intending them to carry any precise or technical meaning; yet *Tricurius* derives from a British word meaning '(district or tribe) of three armies', and it strongly suggests that the Dumnonian kingdom was composed of recognisable sub-units governed by members of the native élite such as Vedianus.⁵⁹ Such a system of social and landscape organisation would certainly be in keeping with the evidence discussed above in relation to the late Roman and early post-Roman periods, where it was suggested that some - but not all - of the formerly centralised functions of the *civitas* had

⁵⁶ Vedianus and his people were at least nominally Christian, for the *Life* describes Samson as confirming their baptisms rather than converting them *de novo*, but their activities may represent a syncretic fusion of Christian and pagan practices, as has been suggested for post-Roman Somerset: Rahtz, 1991, pp.11-12ff; Thomas, 1994, pp.229-30.

⁵⁷ Hughes, 1981, pp.4-5, suggested that the *Life*'s descriptions of Samson's behaviour in Ireland and Wales reflected the difference between the jurisdictional importance of abbots in the former and that of bishops in the latter. For example, he appointed his uncle as the abbot of his monastery in Ireland without apparently consulting any higher authority [which is markedly similar to his behaviour in Dumnonia], whereas in Wales he always seems directly or indirectly to recognise episcopal authority. However, I doubt that the *Life* is a sufficiently reliable witness to bear the weight of this interpretation.

⁵⁸ It should also be noted that there is good evidence, mainly but not exclusively of a linguistic nature, for a series of migrations from Britain to Brittany and elsewhere during the late fifth and sixth centuries. However, we have no real idea of the context within which these migrations took place, nor of the numbers of people involved, nor of the parts of Britain from which they came except that in the latest stages a significant proportion of the migrants must have come from south-western Britain: see Jackson, 1953, pp.11-30; Todd, 1987, pp.238-40; Yorke, 1995, pp.18-9.

⁵⁹ Padel, 1985, pp.64-5, 233-4.

devolved to the *pagi* that constituted the local powerbases of the native curial class and their descendants. According to the *Life*, Vedianus was accompanied by his own warband, he appears to have had a strong influence on the nominal religious beliefs of his people and - although the *Life* is not entirely clear or perhaps reliable on this point - he may have been able to grant land outside the *pagus Tricurius* to Samson for the purpose of founding his monastery.

Given that Vedianus must have been a contemporary of either Constantine or his successor, it is notable that he is portrayed as having considerable independence of action and that only his ambiguous title of *comes* provides any hint that a higher secular authority may exist. Although we should be wary of placing too much weight upon this aspect of the *Life*, when taken together with the apparent evidence for rival factions provided by Gildas it raises the possibility that Dumnonian 'kingship' was, or had developed from, a form of overlordship among more localised and semi-autonomous warlords such as Vedianus. Furthermore, it is possible that the *pagus Tricurius* was the predecessor of the *Triconscire* noted in king Alfred's will in the late ninth century and whose approximate extent can be detected in the evidence preserved in Domesday Book.⁶⁰ There is the clear implication that some aspects of Dumnonian landscape organisation survived into, and can be recovered from the records of, the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods.

* * *

After the events connected with Constantine, Iuniavus and Vedianus in the sixth century, there follows a period of more than one hundred years in which Dumnonia and its inhabitants effectively disappear from the limited documentary records, and for which the archaeological record has, as yet, little further to add. Admittedly, there are a number of later traditions, genealogies, stories and saints' *Lives* that locate events and people within the south-western peninsula during this time, but these cannot be used as evidence for sixth- and seventh-century

⁶⁰ S 1507; see Jackson, 1953, p.587, for a probable reading *Tricorscire* rather than *Triconscire*. The possibility that Trigg and the other 'ancient hundreds' of Cornwall corresponded to pre-English patterns of landscape organisation was first discussed in detail by Thomas, 1964; see also Sawyer, 1983, pp.284-5; Preston-Jones & Rose, 1986, pp.137-8; Thomas, 1994, pp.215-8.

history. To cite what often appears to be the most plausible example, a Breton leader called Commorus is mentioned in the *Life* of St Samson and (as Chonomoris) by Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks* and is clearly a historical figure of sixth-century Brittany, while the inscription on a stone at Castledore in Cornwall shows that the son of someone with the same name (Cunomorus) was commemorated in that area at some point between the fifth and eleventh centuries.⁶¹ However, the identification of either or both of these historical personages with a supposed 'king Marcus *alias* Quonomorius of Cornwall' (and elsewhere), a tradition that can be traced to a possible interpolation in a tenth-century copy of the Breton *Vita Pauli Aureliani*, is clearly untenable and belongs to the more appropriate worlds of Cornish folklore and the medieval Tristan romances.⁶² Similarly, the anonymous king of Dumnonia who supposedly granted land at *Inesunitrin* to the church at Glastonbury in c.601 must also be consigned to legend, although in this instance the legend is that fabricated by the monks of Glastonbury in order to stress the antiquity of their abbey.⁶³

There is, however, one final body of evidence to be considered before we move on to the period in which Dumnonia came into direct contact with Anglo-Saxon cultural and political influences, and that is the peninsula's large collection of inscribed stone monuments such as that at Castledore. Although there are currently seventy-nine stones in the corpus as a whole only fifty-three are relevant to the present discussion, of which fifty-one are the stones comprising the largest classification, the Category 1 'pillar' stones (see Fig. 4.2).⁶⁴ The two exceptions are both

⁶¹ Thorpe, 1974, pp.198-9; Hughes, 1981, p.4; Okasha, 1993, pp.91-6; Orme, 2000, p.229.

⁶² Padel, 1981, pp.72-3, 77-9 (and see also Cuissard, 1881-3, pp.431-2; Orme, 2000, p.212); *contra* Pearce, 1978, p.141 (although cf. pp.154-5); Todd, 1987, p.237. In connection with Padel's comments, however, note that **Drustan* or a similar name is unlikely to have been the original reading of the first name on the Castledore stone (see Okasha, 1993, p.94), although the fact that it has been read as such in modern times may still be significant; in passing, it is also worth noting that the *Life* of St Samson may provide a local exemplar for a 'serpent slaying' story that would preclude the need to suppose a Pictish origin for this episode in the Tristan stories.

⁶³ Abrams, 1996, pp.5-6, 124 n1; *contra* Edwards, 1988, pp.64-5.

⁶⁴ For the classification system, see Okasha, 1993, pp.11-3. The remaining twenty-six stones are either unclassifiable (because they were lost before they were adequately recorded) or are in categories that certainly date from the ninth century or later. Four of these stones are recorded from Devon, these being: 36 (Parracombe), 41 (Plymstock), 61 (Tavistock IV), 62 (Tavistock V) [references are to the numbered entries in Okasha 1993]; their omission does not affect the discussion presented here. In addition, a small fragment from an inscribed stone of unknown type was

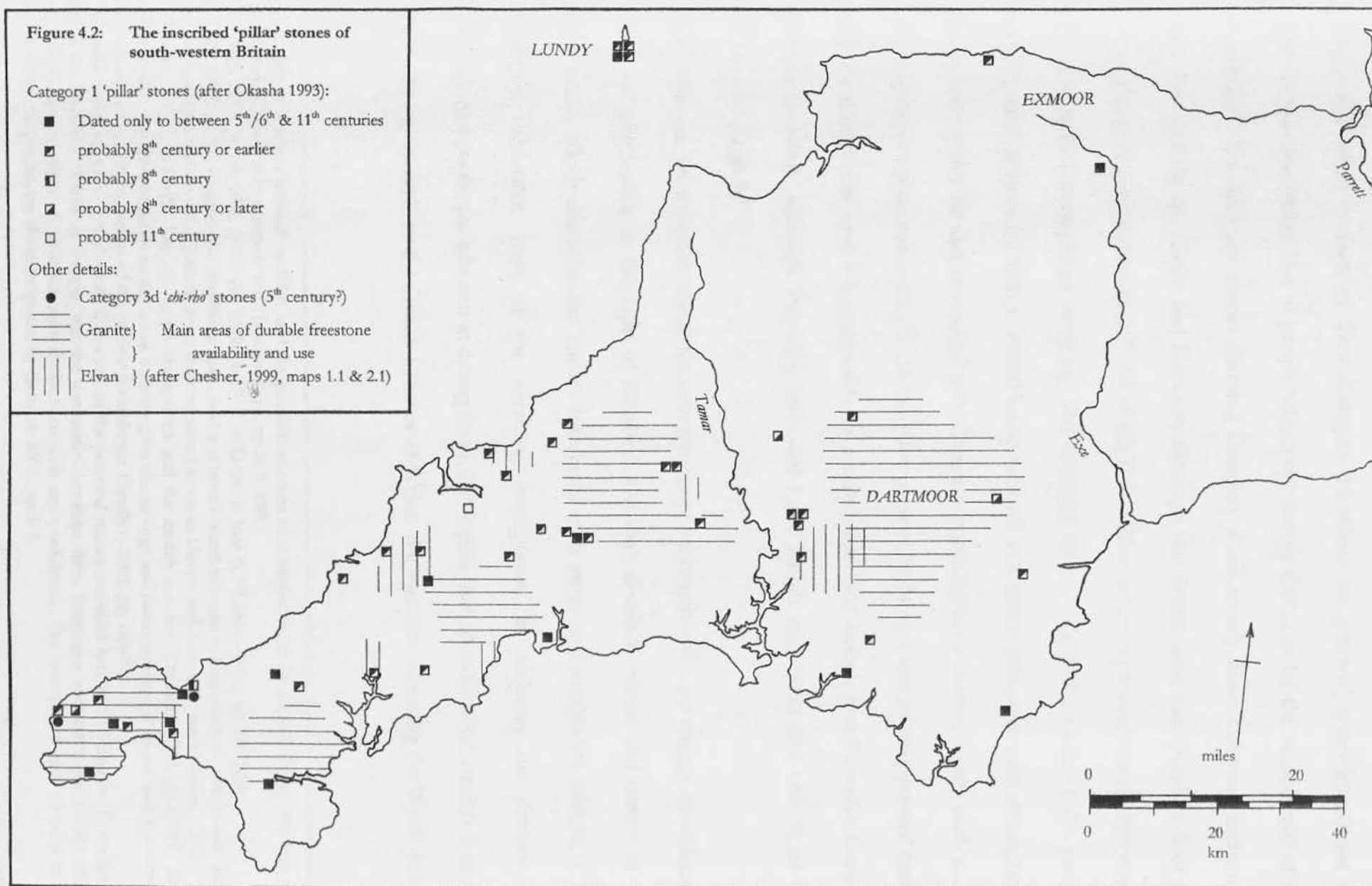
Figure 4.2: The inscribed 'pillar' stones of south-western Britain

Category 1 'pillar' stones (after Okasha 1993):

- Dated only to between 5th/6th & 11th centuries
- ▣ probably 8th century or earlier
- ▤ probably 8th century
- ▥ probably 8th century or later
- probably 11th century

Other details:

- Category 3d 'chi-rho' stones (5th century?)
- Granite } Main areas of durable freestone availability and use
- }
- Elvan } (after Chesher, 1999, maps 1.1 & 2.1)



recorded from the West Penwith area and are simply inscribed with the early form of the *chi-rho* symbol; and if either or both of these Category 3d stones are genuine, it would indicate the presence in western Dumnonia of people who were overtly Christian by the second half of the fifth century.⁶⁵ The fifty-one stones forming Category 1 are mostly from Cornwall and south Devon, with outliers on Lundy and Exmoor, although this distribution may simply reflect the local availability of suitable freestone.⁶⁶ All of the stones have an inscription in roman letters and six have associated inscriptions in ogom. The majority simply record the name of the person commemorated, with or without a second name denoted as a patronymic, but some incorporate formulae such as the *hic iacet* associated with Christian gravestones or feature motifs such as *chi-rho* monograms, crosses and panels.⁶⁷ Allowing for present legibility, most of the personal names are identifiably 'Celtic' and it is reasonable to assume that Late British and Primitive Cornish names predominate, although Primitive Irish and Latin names also occur and one stone has names in Old English.⁶⁸

Much that has been written about these monuments previously will now require considerable revision or qualification in the light of Elisabeth Okasha's detailed critique and survey of the entire corpus, which discusses the known history of each stone and establishes reliable, albeit deliberately minimalist, texts of the surviving inscriptions. In addition, she defines the methodological problems inherent in dating them, and argues that although the Category 1 stones are broadly comparable to the Group I stones of Wales, the methods of dating the Welsh stones

found near St Just in Cornwall in 1990, and the possible remains of a simple ogom inscription have been reported for a damaged stone at Lewannick: see Thomas, 1994, pp.263, 289.

⁶⁵ Okasha, 1993, pp.16, 50-1, 205-7 (40 Phillack II), 239-42 (50 St Just I); Thomas, 1994, pp.198-200.

⁶⁶ Todd, 1987, p.251, suggests the possibility that wood was used instead of stone in areas such as eastern and central Devon. For the properties and availability of constructional stone in Devon and Cornwall, see Chesher, 1999.

⁶⁷ Okasha, 1993, pp.14-28. For the ogom inscriptions and the motifs see also Thomas, 1994, pp.237ff., 293-6 (although with the qualifications noted below regarding his chronology and interpretation of these), and for a recent reassessment of the development of the *hic iacet* formula see Handley, 2001, pp.186-9.

⁶⁸ Okasha, 1993, pp.43-9. It is possible that some of the personal names assumed here to be Primitive Cornish may in fact be Primitive Welsh or Breton, but the similarities between these languages and the present state of the inscriptions do not allow us to make such distinctions with any confidence. The terms used here to refer to the various Celtic languages are those proposed by Jackson, 1953, pp.3-7.

cannot be applied to the south-western stones and are themselves open to question.⁶⁹ According to Okasha's reassessment, the overall date-range for the Category 1 stones runs from the fifth or sixth century through to the eleventh century; and, although some stones can be dated to within slightly narrower limits, no individual stone can be dated more precisely than to within one or two centuries. This is a serious limitation; but despite the absence of a firm chronology, there are still a number of general observations that can be made. The local tradition of inscribed stones seems to have drawn upon a variety of Gaulish, Irish and Welsh influences,⁷⁰ and appears to reflect Dumnonia's position as part of an extended cultural and trade network. Although many of the inscriptions are not explicitly Christian, they imply an ongoing tradition of literacy and Latinity that is most readily explained by the presence of an organised and influential Church. The people who commissioned these inscriptions clearly had access to that literacy and to craftsmen, while the erection of such commemorative monuments can be seen as an expression of contemporary status. It is not unreasonable to suggest that those commemorated represent an

⁶⁹ Okasha, 1993, pp.16-8, 50-7; see also Dark, 2000, pp.38-40; Handley, 2001, pp.179, 188-97. However, Okasha's conclusions have been opposed by Thomas (1994, p.327; *idem*, 1999, pp.82-3, 87), who asserts that his method of dating individual stones to 'probable thirds of centuries' remains valid and that many of Okasha's readings of the inscribed texts 'seem unusually timid or inadequate'. Thomas argues that (Irish influenced) élite settlement from Demetia in the late fifth century introduced the tradition of inscribed memorials into Brycheiniog and central Dumnonia, and in the latter area led also to its conversion to Christianity (Thomas, 1994, pp.96, 115ff, 210, 237ff, 265ff, *et passim*). He proposes a typological sequence for the development of the Demetian monuments and regards this as taking precedence over earlier dating models based upon epigraphy and linguistics, although he associates these and a number of other inscriptional features (such as layout, letter-forms, formulae and personal names) with particular stages of his typological or interpretative models and uses them as additional diagnostic characteristics in the dating of other inscriptions (*ibid.*, pp.68-71, 74-7, 84, 91-2, 95-6, 125-6, 237, 242-5, 260-7, 277, 289-90, 299). However, because of his assumed primacy of type 'a' inscriptions [i.e. the stones that have only an ogom inscription] and an initially 'pagan' context, Thomas makes no allowance for the possibility of parallel or convergent rather than sequential typological development. Similarly, his assumptions that central Dumnonia was not Christian by c.500, that it had no pre-existing memorial tradition, and that Latin personal names there must be intrusive rather than native are all open to question and at times lead him into dangerously circular arguments. Furthermore, many of the secondary dating criteria he uses have been challenged effectively by Okasha and Handley, while the recent reassessment of the Silchester ogom stone (see Fulford *et al.*, 2000) suggests that the use of ogom was more widespread, and at an earlier date, than is allowed for by Thomas. Although the discussions and variant readings for individual stones provided by Thomas are undoubtedly valuable if used with caution (one reviewer noted that 'the walls of Camelot' look coldly factual in comparison' to some of the suggestions put forward by Thomas: Lane, 1996, p.328), his datings and interpretations of the Dumnonian corpus cannot be accepted as they stand.

⁷⁰ Okasha, 1993, pp.31-42; but cf Handley, 2001, *passim*, on the dangers of assuming a specifically 'Gaulish' influence as opposed to more general influences circulating throughout the late Roman world. There is not enough surviving evidence to prove a continuity of local epigraphic or monumental traditions from the Roman to the post-Roman British periods in Dumnonia, because the only inscriptions that can be associated with the Dumnonii during the Roman period are five 'milestones' in Cornwall, two lost inscriptions re-used to repair the city wall at Exeter, two 'work party' inscriptions on Hadrian's Wall and an altar dedication in Cologne, none of which is Christian: Rivet & Smith, 1979, p.342; Bidwell, 1980, p.1 (citing Leland, c.1538); Todd, 1987, pp.218, 235 n1.

élite and predominantly Christian social class, and this in turn implies an organised and hierarchical society capable of producing the surplus necessary to support such an élite.⁷¹ In other words, the inscribed stones provide further support for the impression of the Dumnonian kingdom and its social structure that has been suggested by other evidence.

4.2: The transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control, c.650 to c.850.⁷²

A possible translation for the name Dumnonii is ‘the followers of the mysterious one’;⁷³ and in a later period one could almost apply this description to the part that became Cornwall, because the English perception of the Cornish as something ‘other’, something foreign or alien, particularly in terms of language and religion, has had a long history and a lasting influence. John de Grandisson, writing as bishop of Exeter in the early fourteenth century, described Cornwall as a foreign land, whose inhabitants spoke a language known only to the Bretons.⁷⁴ A contemporary, who had served as archdeacon of Cornwall for thirty-five years, confessed to Grandisson that he had never really got on well with the Cornish people, whose language he did not understand and who were rebellious and unwilling to be taught or to submit to correction.⁷⁵ This perception was not new. An early tenth-century account claims that one of Grandisson’s distant Anglo-Saxon predecessors was given three estates in Cornwall so that the bishop could visit its people yearly in order to wring out their errors, since they had in the past resisted the truth and not obeyed apostolic decrees; by the later tenth century another version suggested that the provision of the estates was to punish the Cornish people for disobeying the West Saxons.⁷⁶ Yet these accounts belong to the period after the south-western peninsula of Britain had finally and entirely fallen

⁷¹ Pearce, 1985, p.258; Todd, 1987, p.250; Okasha, 1993, p.15; Yorke, 1995, p.154.

⁷² Earlier and abbreviated versions of the following section have been presented as papers to the Medieval Postgraduate Research Seminar at the University of Birmingham in May 2000; to the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, in July 2000; and to the Medieval History Seminar at All Souls College, University of Oxford, in January 2002. I have benefited greatly from the discussions that followed on these occasions.

⁷³ Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.342-3.

⁷⁴ Hingeston-Randolph, 1899, pp.xix-xx.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp.liv-lv.

⁷⁶ S 1296; S 1451a; see also discussion and references given in chapter 3.2 above (at pp.66-7).

under English control. They were written from the viewpoint of the eventually dominant culture, and distort our picture of earlier periods by placing too much emphasis on contemporary disputes and animosities. We should allow for the possibility that this was not always the case.

The traditional model of the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control in south-western Britain, as proposed (with minor variations) by Stenton, Hoskins and others, saw that transition in terms of an almost linear progression of West Saxon military conquests (see Fig. 4.3).⁷⁷ The eastern half of Dumnonia was rapidly transformed from a supposedly sparsely-populated but independent British kingdom in the late seventh century to become Anglo-Saxon Devon by the early eighth century - a conquest that Stenton described as being so complete that 'no considerable native population remained to complicate the life of the new settlers'.⁷⁸ Thereafter, the western half of Dumnonia supposedly survived as a small Cornish kingdom during the eighth century but was reduced to being little more than an occasionally troublesome backwater province of England by the later ninth century. This 'linear progressive westerly conquest and settlement' type of model relied heavily on the ambiguous details recorded by the late ninth-century *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and a methodologically unsound (or distinctly biased) interpretation of the place-name evidence, and it effectively telescoped the entire transition process in eastern Dumnonia into a period of little more than forty years. Not surprisingly, it has been increasingly challenged by more recent writers such as Malcolm Todd and Barbara Yorke.⁷⁹

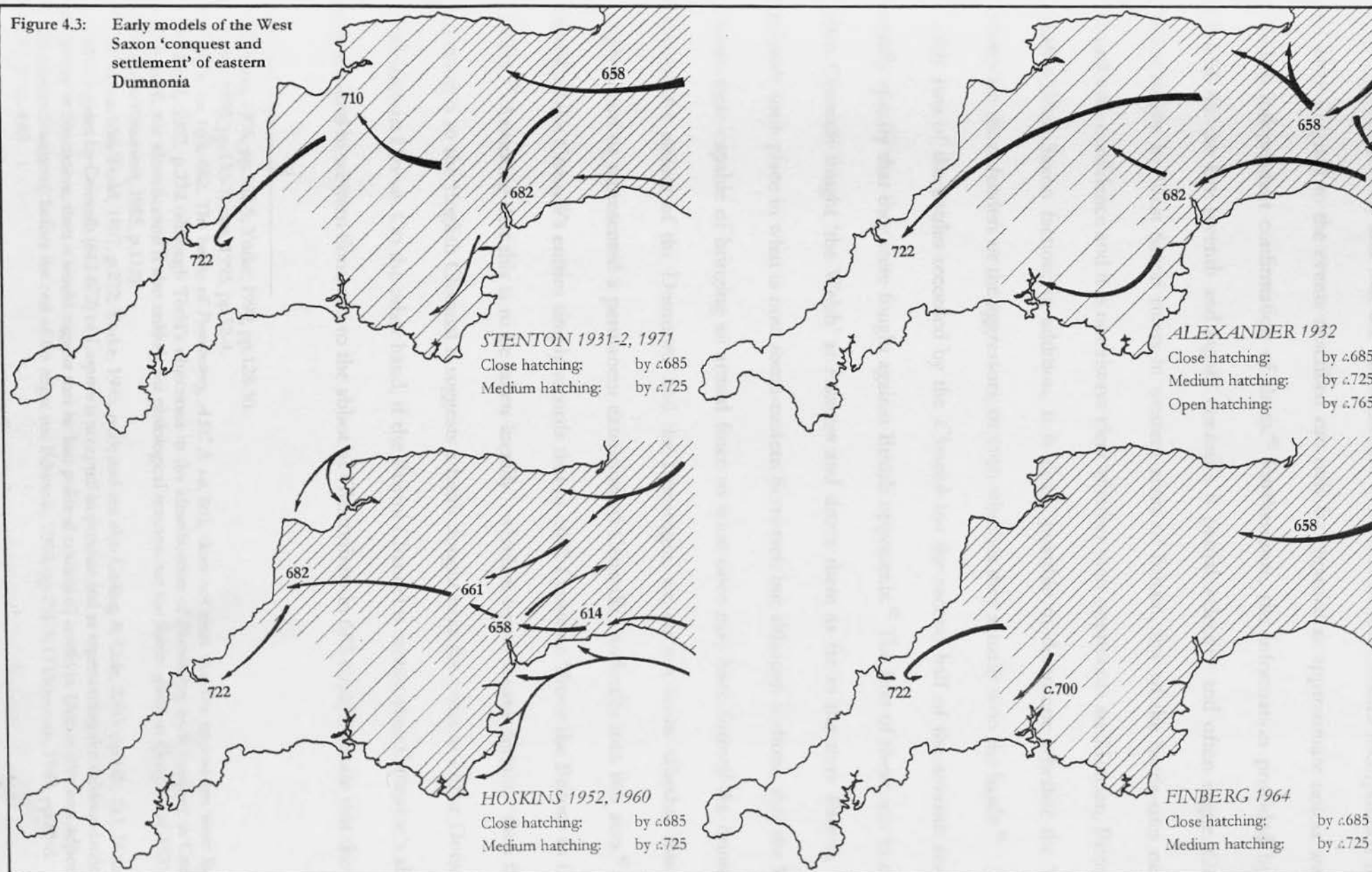
In particular, the framework of events presented by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is far less reliable than some earlier researchers had chosen to suppose. Although it is likely that some form of contemporary 'proto-annals' relating to the West Saxons began to be kept during the second half

⁷⁷ Stenton *apud* Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, pp.xiv-xxiv (but cf. Martin, 1897, pp.277-8, for an earlier and less extreme view); see also Alexander, 1932, pp.88-93, 103-4; Hoskins, 1952, pp.298-300, 308-9; *idem*, 1960, pp.7-16; Finberg, 1964a, pp.99-103; Stenton, 1971, pp.63-5, 68. The maps in Fig. 4.3 attempt to summarise the interpretations put forward by these writers, but are necessarily approximate.

⁷⁸ Stenton *apud* Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, p.xx. Hoskins and Finberg were more willing to allow for a greater degree of British population survival and assimilation, but both also envisaged large numbers of incoming West Saxon settlers.

⁷⁹ Todd, 1987, pp.270-4; Yorke, 1995, pp.52-4, 60, 68-9; see also e.g. Barlow, 1980, p.18; Gelling, 1993, p.55; *idem*, 1997 (starting on the third page of the unpaginated 'Introduction to the Third Edition'). See also Ward-Perkins, 2000, who discusses in a broader context several of the issues addressed here with regard to eastern Dumnonia. However, the ghost of the old model can persist even in recent work, e.g. Breeze *apud* Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.125, 139, 141.

Figure 4.3: Early models of the West Saxon 'conquest and settlement' of eastern Dumnonia



of the seventh century and that the ninth-century compilers of the *Chronicle* incorporated these, the dates assigned to the events described can only be regarded as approximate unless we can establish independent confirmation of them.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the information provided by the *Chronicle* for the late seventh and eighth centuries is partial, selective and often vague. Of the battles fought by West Saxon rulers in western areas of Britain, few of the battle-sites can be located with confidence and it is not always clear whether their opponents are Mercian, British or another West Saxon faction; in addition, it is rarely possible to determine whether the West Saxons are the defenders or the aggressors, or even whether they actually won the battle.⁸¹

Only two of the battles recorded by the *Chronicle* for the second half of the seventh century actually specify that they were fought against British opponents.⁸² The first of these was in c.658, when Cenwalh fought 'the Welsh' at *Peonnum* and drove them as far as the river Parrett, so it probably took place in what is now south-eastern Somerset; but although it shows that the West Saxons were capable of bringing an armed force to what once may have formed the boundary between the *civitates* of the Dumnonii and the Durotriges, we do not know whether this was simply a raid or represented a permanent extension of Cenwalh's authority into this area.⁸³ The second of the *Chronicle*'s entries simply records that in c.682 Centwine 'drove the Britons as far as the sea'.⁸⁴ Assuming that this is to be taken literally - which is by no means certain - then if the reference is to the English Channel it suggests a battle fought near the coast in either Dorset or south-eastern Devon. On the other hand, if the Bristol Channel is meant, then Centwine's ability to grant land in western Somerset to the abbot of Glastonbury in 682 could indicate that this was

⁸⁰ Harrison, 1976, pp.132-5; Yorke, 1990, pp.128-30.

⁸¹ Yorke, 1990, pp.135-7; *idem*, 1995, pp.52-4.

⁸² *ASC A s.a.* 658, 682. The battle of *Posentesbyrg*, *ASC A s.a.* 661, does not state that the opponents were British, *contra* Todd, 1987, p.272 (although Todd's objections to the identification of *Posentesbyrg* with Posbury in Crediton remain valid; the identification is also unlikely for philological reasons: see the forms given in Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.406; *contra* Pamment, 1985, p.118).

⁸³ *ASC A s.a.* 658; Todd, 1987, p.272; Yorke, 1995, p.53; and see also Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.189, 213. If the late record of a grant by Cenwalh (642-672) of *Lanprobi* is accepted as genuine and as representing the (re)foundation of a monastery at Sherborne, then it would suggest that he had political control of northern Dorset (the area adjacent to south-eastern Somerset) before the end of his reign: see Edwards, 1988, pp.251-3; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.83-8.

⁸⁴ *ASC A s.a.* 682.

an area that had recently come under his control.⁸⁵ In any event, the grant to Glastonbury shows that part of the former *civitas* of the Dumnonii was now under West Saxon authority, although - as was noted above - we do not know whether western Somerset had still been in Dumnonian hands immediately prior to this. Indeed, it is quite possible that these two seventh-century battles between West Saxons and Britons did not involve the Dumnonians at all but were actually incidents in campaigns directed against the British successor state or states based upon the former *civitas* of the Durotriges, because there is in fact no unequivocal evidence for warfare between the Dumnonians and the West Saxons until c.710.⁸⁶ With the *Chronicle's* evidence thereby called into question, the only basis for supposing that any part of what later became the county of Devon may have been in West Saxon hands before this date is that in the mid-680s an Anglo-Saxon boy, Wynfrith, entered a monastery at Exeter whose abbot had an Old English name. This evidence is clearly not sufficient to carry the weight of such an interpretation on its own, nor is this the only interpretation of it that can be provided, as will be discussed in more detail at a later stage. In the meantime, at least so far as events of the late seventh century in Dumnonia are concerned, the old 'linear progressive westerly conquest and settlement' type of model can and almost certainly should be discarded.

Yet that having been said, it is also necessary to point out that some further evidence does indeed exist to indicate the presence of Old English speakers in Dumnonia during the seventh century; but it may well pre-date the battle at *Peonnum* in c.658, and it certainly points to a rather more complex situation than the earlier model allowed for. Because of the ways that vernacular languages evolve over time, written records or borrowings of words into other languages can often preserve older forms of pronunciation. A relevant example of this involves a series of vowel changes in both the British and Old English languages, of which the latest stage is

⁸⁵ S 237; Edwards, 1988, pp.15-7; Abrams, 1996, pp.80-2. It is worth noting that this is also the period in which the late Roman and early medieval cemetery at Cannington, discussed above, fell out of use: Rahtz, 1991, p.14; *idem et al*, 2000, pp.409, 423-5.

⁸⁶ ASC A s.a. 710. This battle and its context will be discussed further below.

preserved in the Primitive Cornish place-name *Cructan* and its Old English equivalent *Crycbeorh*, now Creechbarrow in western Somerset.⁸⁷ The Primitive Cornish and Old English forms are both preserved in Centwine's charter, noted above, by which this land was granted to Glastonbury; and, despite the presence of later interpolated material, this unique reference to bilingualism has been shown to form part of the original charter of 682.⁸⁸

The British word in question is *crug*, meaning 'abrupt hill, mound, or tumulus', the vowel sound of which developed from /*ū*/ to /*ũ*/ during the sixth century.⁸⁹ The Old English language initially had no direct equivalent for this Neo-Brittonic /*ũ*/ vowel sound, so subsequent Old English borrowings of *crug* often continued to substitute /*ū*/ and, like the earliest borrowings, these appear to be represented by modern place-name forms such as 'Crook(e)' and 'Crouch'. Sometimes, however, Old English /*ī*/ was felt to be a more appropriate substitution than /*ū*/, while by the later seventh century Old English had developed a new /*ȳ*/ vowel sound that more closely represented the contemporary Neo-Brittonic /*ũ*/.⁹⁰ These /*ī*/ and /*ȳ*/ vowels gave rise to modern place-name forms such as 'Creech' and 'Crich', with the later /*ȳ*/ vowel being evidenced by *Crycbeorh* in the charter of 682.⁹¹

Yet the linguistic changes detectable in these borrowings from the British, Primitive Welsh and Primitive Cornish languages by Old English speakers present us with a possible chronological

⁸⁷ Until the early sixth century we can refer to the Brittonic language spoken in Britain as 'British', although there were slight differences between the Western and South-Western dialects of British. However, as a result of the many phonetic developments and divergences that occurred during the sixth century, by the end of that century it becomes more appropriate to refer to the related, but now separate, Neo-Brittonic languages as the 'Primitive' stages of Welsh, Cornish, Breton and Cumbric: see Jackson, 1953, pp.4-6, 19-23. Note that although the sequence of phonetic developments established by Jackson has generally been accepted, some of the dates that he proposed for particular stages were in part dependent upon interpretations of insular epigraphic material that are now open to question or in need of revision (see e.g. Okasha, 1993, pp.52-5; Thomas, 1998, pp.65-70; Handley, 2001, pp.189ff, 196-7). These problems have been taken into account in the discussions of linguistic evidence given in the present chapter, and so far as I am aware none of the arguments employed here rests solely upon Jackson's dating of epigraphic evidence.

⁸⁸ S 237; Edwards, 1988, pp.15-7. The key passage is *collem qui dicitur Bretonica lingua Cructan . apud nos Crycbeorh*: 'the hill which is called in the British [i.e. Primitive Cornish] language *Cructan*, among us *Crycbeorh*'.

⁸⁹ This vowel change affected all of the emergent Neo-Brittonic languages: Jackson, 1953, §§18, 20, 22. For the meanings of *crug*, see Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.159.

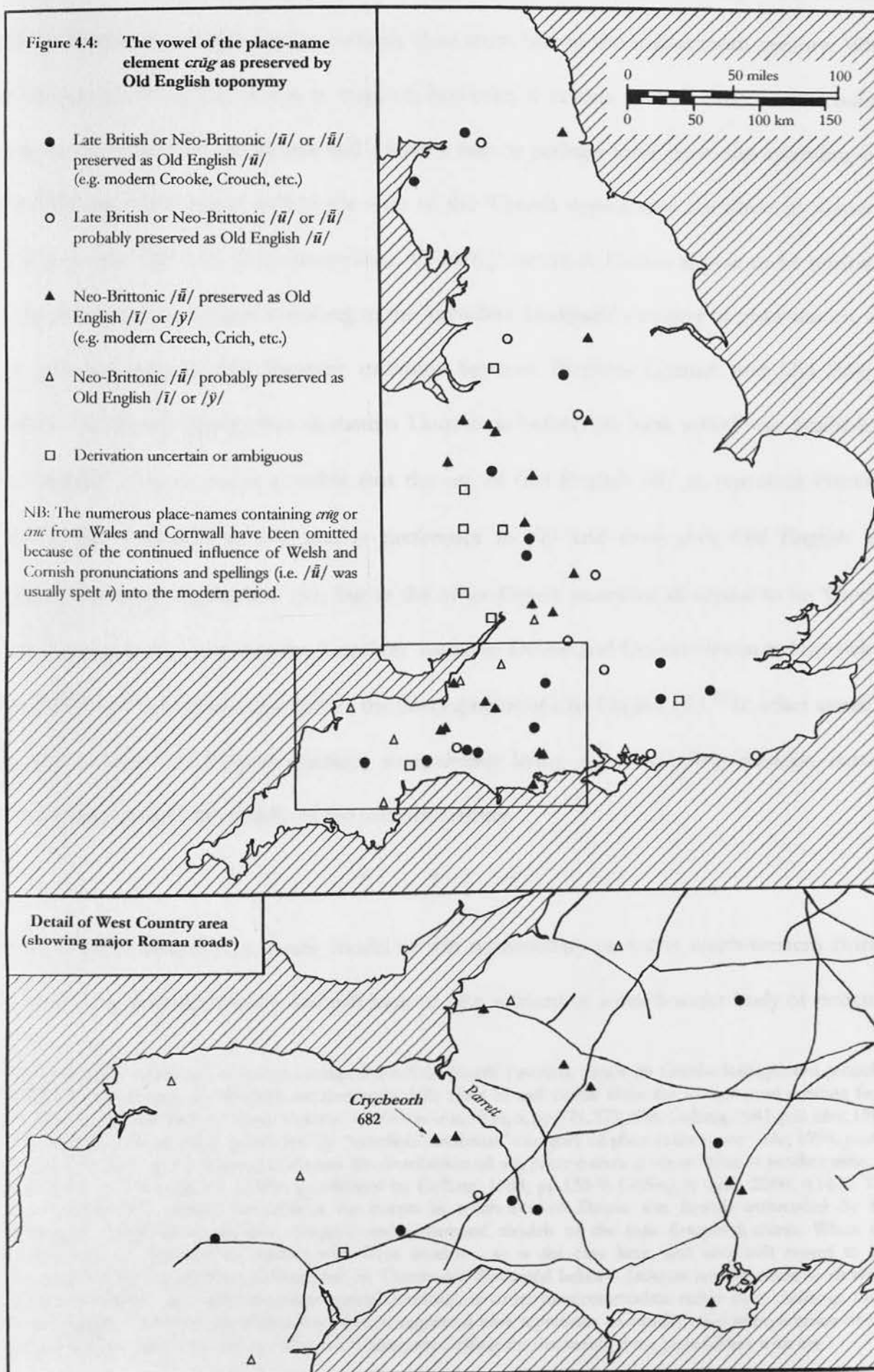
⁹⁰ Jackson, 1953, §§20, 22. Note that the diacritic for the vowel represented here as /*ȳ*/ should really be denoted by /*ȳ̆*/ rather than /*ȳ*/; unfortunately, however, the appropriate character is not available in the typeface used here!

⁹¹ Gelling, 1984, pp.137-9; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.159-63.

Figure 4.4: The vowel of the place-name element *crūg* as preserved by Old English toponymy

- Late British or Neo-Brittonic /*ū*/ or /*ū̄*/ preserved as Old English /*ū*/ (e.g. modern Crooke, Crouch, etc.)
- Late British or Neo-Brittonic /*ū*/ or /*ū̄*/ probably preserved as Old English /*ū*/
- ▲ Neo-Brittonic /*ū̄*/ preserved as Old English /*ī*/ or /*ȳ*/ (e.g. modern Creech, Crich, etc.)
- △ Neo-Brittonic /*ū̄*/ probably preserved as Old English /*ī*/ or /*ȳ*/
- Derivation uncertain or ambiguous

NB: The numerous place-names containing *crūg* or *cric* from Wales and Cornwall have been omitted because of the continued influence of Welsh and Cornish pronunciations and spellings (i.e. /*ū̄*/ was usually spelt *u*) into the modern period.



problem. Most 'Crook(e)'-type forms are recorded much further to the east, where contacts between Britons and Anglo-Saxons certainly date from before the mid-seventh century. When the relevant place-name evidence is mapped, however, it reveals a small cluster of 'Crook(e)' names on the border of east Devon and a further two or perhaps three examples extending into central Devon, which occur well to the west of the 'Creech'-type forms elsewhere in Somerset and Dorset (see Fig. 4.4). These anomalous 'Crook(e)' names in Devon appear to be related to the Roman road network and to belong to the 'travellers' landmark' category of place-names, and their presence suggests that linguistic exchange between Primitive Cornish and Old English speakers was already taking place in eastern Dumnonia before the 'new vowel' was available in Old English.⁹² It is of course possible that the use of Old English /*ū*/ to represent Primitive Cornish /*ũ*/ continued in this area in preference to /*ī*/ and even after Old English had developed its more appropriate /*ȳ*/; but as the other Devon examples all appear to be 'Creech' forms it seems more likely that the 'Crook(e)' forms in Devon and Dorset represent borrowings from Primitive Cornish at a time before the development of Old English /*ȳ*/.⁹³ In other words, it may well be that Old English speakers were already living in, or travelling through, eastern Dumnonia by around the middle of the seventh century.

* * *

As this example illustrates, any new model of this transitional period in south-western Britain will need to be multidisciplinary and will have to take account of a much wider body of evidence

⁹² The 'Crooke(e)' names in Devon are Crooke Burnell (in North Tawton), Crook (in Combe Raleigh) and probably Churchill (in Broadclyst), all of which are distinctive hills close to and visible from the Roman road running from Ilchester to Exeter and then to North Tawton: see Gover *et al.*, 1931, ii, pp.371, 573, 638; Gelling, 1981, p.6; *idem*, 1984, p.139; Coates & Breeze, 2000, p.290; for the 'travellers' landmark' category of place-names, see Cole, 1994, *passim*; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.xvi. I intend to discuss the distribution of *crūg* place-names in more detail at another time.

⁹³ *contra* Jackson, 1953, pp.316-7 (who is followed by Gelling, 1984, pp.138-9; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.163). The historical framework adopted by Jackson for events in south-western Britain was heavily influenced by the contemporary 'Anglo-Saxon military conquest and settlement' models of the type described above. When the linguistic evidence appeared to conflict with these models - as is the case here, and also with regard to the development of the name 'Devon' from that of 'Dumnonia' discussed below - Jackson usually chose to develop linguistic explanations that often required 'special pleading', in order to accommodate rather than challenge these historical models. However, the alternative solution suggested here represents an equally valid interpretation of the linguistic evidence, and I am very grateful to Dr Margaret Gelling for discussing these possibilities with me.

than did the traditional model. In particular, among the limited documentary sources, considerable emphasis must be given to the writings of the West Saxon scholar Aldhelm, who became abbot of Malmesbury during the 670s and who was the first bishop of a West Saxon diocese 'to the west of the wood' (the seat of which was probably at Sherborne) from late 705 or early 706 until his death four years later.⁹⁴ Among his Latin works is a letter written in the form of a poem to a correspondent called Helmgils, in which Aldhelm describes a violent summer storm that he encountered on a journey from *Cornubia* into *Domnonia* and how it destroyed the roof of the church at which he was staying.⁹⁵

To some extent the poem is simply a vehicle enabling Aldhelm to demonstrate his poetic skills, and the constraints of the verse-form tend to exaggerate the usual stylistic complexities of his vocabulary and syntax.⁹⁶ Yet underlying his extended description of the storm itself there is a framework of apparently autobiographical narrative that, even if it had been adapted to suit

⁹⁴ A synchronisation given by Bede states that in 705 king Aldfrith of the Northumbrians died after a reign of nearly twenty years and was succeeded by his young son Osred; that bishop Hædde of the West Saxons died at the beginning of Osred's reign, whereupon his see was divided, with Aldhelm and Daniel being appointed as the bishops of the two new West Saxon sees; and that Aldhelm died after serving his see for four years (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* [hereafter *HE*, cited by book and chapter from the edition and translation by Colgrave & Mynors, 1969], v 18). Yet Bede's account is problematic, because another contemporary source states that one Eadwulf reigned for two months prior to Osred's accession (Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, §59 [see Webb, 1965, pp.195-6]), while later sources preserve a record that Aldfrith died on 14 December (*ASC* D & E texts [see Whitelock *et al*, 1961, p.26], *s.a.* 705]. As 14 December 705 is significantly more than twenty years after the death of Aldfrith's predecessor Ecgfrith in May 685, and because Eadwulf's reign would place Osred's accession in the February following Aldfrith's death, there has been considerable debate as to whether Aldfrith actually died in late 704 or late 705 and whether Osred succeeded in early 705 or early 706; this debate naturally affects the dates for the West Saxon events implied by Bede's synchronisation (see Harrison, 1976, pp.85, 89-91; Lapidge & Herren, 1979, p.10; Edwards, 1988, pp.109-10; Kirby, 1991, pp.145-6; Cubitt, 1995, p.260 n45). However, both Aldhelm and (probably) Daniel attest as bishops in the witness list of an apparently authentic charter that must date from either June 705 or June 706 (S 248; Edwards, 1988, pp.27-33; Abrams, 1991, pp.114-9; Cubitt, 1995, pp.261-2). Furthermore, a late Anglo-Saxon calendar records bishop Hædde's obit as 7 July (Chaplais, 1981, xiv, p.4 n5; Fryde *et al*, 1986, p.223), which in the light of S 248 is most readily interpreted as referring to July 705 rather than July 706. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the division of Hædde's see and the commencement of Aldhelm's episcopacy occurred between July 705 and June 706, and that Aldhelm's death occurred either in late 709 or early 710. Aldhelm was the bishop of the West Saxons 'to the west of the wood' (*se wes be westan wuda bisceþ: ASC A s.a.* 709), the reference being to Selwood on the border between Somerset and Wiltshire (see Fig. 4.5 below); and it is almost certain that his episcopal seat, like that of his successors, was at Sherborne (Stenton, 1971, p.65; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xiii, xliii-xliv, 83-8).

⁹⁵ Aldhelm, *Carmen Rhythmicum*, the text used is that of Ehwald, 1919, pp.524-8, and the translation is based on that of Lapidge & Rosier, 1985, pp.177-9. The journey was *usque ... Domnoniam, per ... Cornubiam*, which clearly implies that Aldhelm was travelling from the latter into the former when he encountered the storm.

⁹⁶ The poem uses an innovative form of continuous octosyllables that combines elements of late Antique and Hiberno-Latin verse-forms with alliterative features more common in Old English poetry, and which appears to have been originated either by archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (668-690) or, more probably, by Aldhelm himself. For further discussion of this verse-form, see Lapidge & Rosier, 1985, pp.173-6.

Aldhelm's purpose or the verse-form, must have derived from his own experiences and been sufficiently realistic for it to be credible to a contemporary. We are not given any information about the reasons behind Aldhelm's supposed journey, but it is almost certain that *Cornubia*, which derives from the name of the Dumnonian tribal sub-group called the Cornovii, must correspond closely to the part of the peninsula west of the river Tamar now known as Cornwall. It presumably constituted a major territorial sub-division or sub-kingdom within Dumnonia; and it is clear that Aldhelm here is using *Domnonia* to refer not to the kingdom as a whole but only to the eastern part of it now known as Devon.⁹⁷ Although the poem cannot be dated accurately and could have been written at, or relate to, any time during the forty years before Aldhelm's death in 709x710, it is obvious that at least part if not all of his supposed journey would have incorporated territory that was still under British political control, and this shows that an important West Saxon ecclesiast could travel, or could be envisaged as travelling, freely and safely through such an area. Aldhelm's poem, therefore, suggests a period of relatively peaceful and even friendly relations between the Dumnonians and the West Saxons; it certainly does not suggest a context of bitter and ongoing hostilities!

Given that the journey started from *Cornubia* and continued into but not through *Domnonia*, it is also apparent that the church described by Aldhelm was almost certainly supposed to be located within Dumnonian territory (using Dumnonia hereafter in its broader sense, and using 'eastern Dumnonia' to refer to the part that became Devon), and that his description of it should be of great interest to both historians and archaeologists alike. It was sited adjacent to a road near the coast, and seems to have been a fairly large and possibly double-celled wooden structure with a single doorway, built around a framework of substantial earthfast uprights and beams that supported a thatched roof, possibly of broom. In addition, it was perhaps dedicated to Mary and appears to have been of monastic or collegiate type, because when the storm reached its height

⁹⁷ The spelling *Domnonia* used by Aldhelm may be a Latinised form of a contemporary Primitive Cornish pronunciation /Dɔpɲen/ (which would probably have been spelt **Domnen*): see below, but cf. Jackson, 1953, p.275. However, for the sake of clarity, I will continue to use the earlier form 'Dumnonia'.

Aldhelm described himself as celebrating matins in the company of others within the church, which suggests a regular order of divine service as well as the presence of ancillary buildings nearby. Although we lack sufficient information to be certain, the context provided for the reader of the poem implies either that a West Saxon ecclesiast was staying with a British religious community or that there was already some provision of Anglo-Saxon minsters within the British kingdom of Dumnonia, and that this was not unusual enough to require further comment.

In either case, these implications are both striking and significant, not least in terms of the potential for continuity of some religious institutions during the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control in eastern Dumnonia. Yet even if the poem was written at a fairly early stage in Aldhelm's career, a degree of familiarity in relations between some British and West Saxon clergy need not be seen as particularly unusual. Bede's account of Chad's consecration at Winchester in the mid-660s notes that the West Saxon bishop Wine was assisted in the ordination ceremony by two British bishops; and although we are not told where these British bishops came from, it was clearly possible for their assistance to be requested and for them to travel safely to Winchester in order to help.⁹⁸

Of perhaps even more significance than this poem, however, is a letter that Aldhelm wrote to king Gerent of Dumnonia.⁹⁹ Again, the dating for this letter is far from clear, but it obviously belongs to the period of Aldhelm's abbacy, the outer limits of which lie between c.672 and early 706.¹⁰⁰ This letter constitutes our most important contemporary source relating to Dumnonia in the late seventh century, and the skill and care with which Aldhelm wrote in Latin mean that we are entitled to ask very detailed questions as to why he chose particular words or a particular phrasing. The main thrust of the letter is blatantly obvious, for Aldhelm's carefully structured argument presents the Catholic Church and its Petrine credentials in their Anglo-Roman form,

⁹⁸ *HE* iii 28.

⁹⁹ Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Geruntium*, the text used is that of Ehwald, 1919, pp.480-6, and the translation is based on that by Lapidge & Herren, 1979, pp.155-60, albeit with some revisions.

¹⁰⁰ The possibility of a more precise dating within these limits is discussed below.

and stresses the need for harmony and unity of brotherhood within the Christian Church. Yet he tends to avoid direct criticism of the Dumnonians, and woven into the letter are many threads and clues as to the contemporary state of affairs in south-western Britain. A careful analysis of the letter provides us with a fresh insight into the complex processes of cultural and political transition, and the basis for a new interpretation of the events surrounding that transition.

Aldhelm, writing as an abbot, opens his letter by extending fraternal greetings to the most glorious lord of the western kingdom (*occidentalis regni*), king Gerent, and to all the priests (*sacerdotibus*)¹⁰¹ throughout Dumnonia. Even though Aldhelm does not say so explicitly - a point to which we will return later - it is apparent that this 'western kingdom' is Dumnonia itself, and later references in the letter make it clear that the Dumnonian clergy remain subject to king Gerent's jurisdiction. We do not know whether this letter was written before or after Aldhelm's poem about the storm, but the poem shows that he was aware of the internal distinction between Cornubia and eastern Dumnonia. Unless this latter territory was still in Gerent's hands, even an indirect reference to his being the 'king of Dumnonia' would be deliberately insulting and completely at odds with the tone of Aldhelm's letter. It therefore seems safe to assume that Gerent's kingdom, at the time the letter was written, still included most and probably all of what later became the county of Devon. In addition, it should be pointed out that Aldhelm presumes the existence in Dumnonia of at least some people prepared (and able) to read a letter in relatively complex Latin from an ecclesiastical opponent who, as a West Saxon, would also have been associated with any English political or military aggression. As with the evidence provided by Aldhelm's poem about the storm, this seems to imply a time of relative peace rather than a current or recent period of warfare between Dumnonia and the West Saxons.

¹⁰¹ 'Priests' seems to be a less ambiguous translation than 'bishops' here: see Latham, 1980, p.415. *Sacerdos* and its variants also appear in British, Welsh and later Cornish contexts and seem to have been employed in different places and times as an alternative for either 'bishop' or 'priest', although on other occasions the usage seems to refer to a distinct and intermediate class of clergy: Davies, 1982, pp.156, 158, 160. Aldhelm later describes the participants at the *concilia episcoporum* as *sacerdotum*, which may be a word chosen to reflect the fact that not all attending it were bishops; this same inclusive sense of 'priests' could be intended throughout his letter, and it is not evidence for or against the contemporary existence of bishops in Dumnonia.

Aldhelm states that he has been asked to write to Gerent (whom he addresses here as *vestra pietas*) in order to inform him of, and request his support for, the matters discussed by a recent episcopal council that had assembled for the express purpose of forwarding the harmony of the Christian religion within the framework of a unified and Catholic Church.¹⁰² This sense of an all-inclusive unity is emphasised by noting that the council involved innumerable priests (*sacerdotum*) from almost the whole of Britain, and it establishes a theme to which Aldhelm returns later in his letter. He argues that even rigid monasticism or an eremitic life has no profit if performed outside the Catholic Church, and that he will now explain these arguments for Gerent (whom he now addresses as *vestra sagacitas*, in flattering contrast to the description of himself as *mea mediocritas*).

Choosing a wording that seems deliberately to avoid making a direct or personal accusation, Aldhelm says that he has heard ‘various rumours’ that Gerent’s priests (*sacerdotes vestri*) are in little harmony with the rule of the Catholic faith, and warns that their dissent may give rise to a grave schism within the Church of Christ. He cites numerous Biblical passages, initially to stress the need for harmony and unity of brotherhood within the Christian Church; but with the last four citations, beginning with ‘Blessed are the peace-makers’, there is a subtle shift of emphasis towards a theme of peace and reconciliation. The theme is not fully developed, perhaps, for there is a sense of a concluding statement missing or left deliberately ‘hanging’. At first sight it seems to be simply an appeal for Gerent to use his influence to curb the dissent among his clergy, but it is possible that this emphasis on ‘peace-making’ also serves as an introduction to the section that follows, and that it includes a parallel reference to Gerent’s secular policies.

Aldhelm now turns to two specific points of criticism. Firstly, and again using an indirect device that seems to offer Gerent the opportunity to deny it, he notes a ‘widespread rumour’ that there are certain priests and clerics (*quidam sacerdotes et clerici*) within Gerent’s province (*provincia vestra*) who refuse to adopt the Petrine tonsure and who defend this on the grounds that they

¹⁰² This reference to a *concilia episcoporum* provides one of the few potential clues as to the date of the letter, but the council has not yet been identified: see Cubitt, 1995, pp.63, 261. However, see also discussion below.

imitate the tonsure of their founders and predecessors. He uses a combination of scripture and other authorities to point out the rationale behind the Petrine tonsure; and again there is a subtle shift of emphasis towards the end of the passage, in which Aldhelm combines the imagery of priestly tonsure and royal crown to express the idea of a 'kingly priesthood', before he concludes it with a word-play between the removal of hair and the removal of crimes (*crinibus*, *criminibus*). For our purposes, if not for Aldhelm's, this part of the letter is a very important one that deserves close attention.

The opening address of the letter shows that Aldhelm recognises Gerent's royal status; but the reference to Dumnonia being Gerent's 'province', a word with a hint of subordination to it, contrasts with his earlier and less ambiguous reference to the 'western kingdom'.¹⁰³ Admittedly, *provincia* was often interchangeable with *regio* in contemporary usage and the same was perhaps true for *regnum*, while Aldhelm's habit of varying his word use for reasons of style is well known;¹⁰⁴ but *provincia* could also be a subtle reminder to Gerent of a political reality - Dumnonia's relationship to Wessex - and this possibility should not be ignored. Nicholas Orme has suggested recently that the lack of an explicit reference to Gerent being 'king of Dumnonia' at the beginning of the letter may represent Aldhelm carefully avoiding any direct acknowledgement of Gerent's claim to rule over the population of an area to which the kings of Wessex also aspired.¹⁰⁵ The suggestion is a reasonable one, and there is certainly a sense that Aldhelm is being very diplomatic in his choice of wording; but the overall tone of the letter points to Gerent having the necessary authority to bring the Dumnonian clergy into line with Catholic practice, which suggests that Gerent is indeed the immediate ruler of Dumnonia - even

¹⁰³ An alternative contemporary meaning for *provincia*, that of an episcopal see (see Latham, 1980, p.380), does not seem appropriate in this instance.

¹⁰⁴ See Bassett, 1989b, pp.17-18, for the use of *provincia* and *regio* to describe a variety of early political land-units.

¹⁰⁵ Orme, 2000, p.4; this book had not been published when I first formulated my ideas about the transitional period in Dumnonia, but we seem to have reached similar conclusions on a number of points. A recent article by M. Grimmer ['Saxon bishop and Celtic king: interactions between Aldhelm of Wessex and Geraint of Dumnonia', in the Winter 2001 issue of the internet journal *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe* (<http://members.aol.com/heroicage1/homepage.html>)] also deals with some of the material discussed here; I am grateful to Abi Preston for bringing this article to my attention.

if that rule is subject to a degree of West Saxon overlordship. From this point of view, it is perhaps significant that some of the Dumnonian clergy cite ancient tradition to justify their refusal to adopt the Petrine tonsure, for it raises the question of to what extent this is still simply a theological debate, and to what extent it has become an expression - presumably a 'defensive' one - of Dumnonian cultural identity and independence. Furthermore, unless Aldhelm is again being careful to avoid outright condemnation, his choice of *quidam* rather than *omnes* could be taken to imply that others among the Dumnonian clergy have indeed adopted the Petrine tonsure and may be in favour of closer associations with the Anglo-Roman Catholic Church.

Aldhelm's second point of specific criticism is, to him, yet more serious. Both his choice of words and his abandonment of the indirect approach emphasise the fundamental problem: Gerent's clergy do not celebrate the Catholic Easter as decreed by the Council of Nicaea, despite the papal rejection of all methods of paschal calculation that reflect Jewish custom. If there is indeed a pro-Catholic element in Dumnonia, it clearly has not yet taken this decisive step. And this for him is the crucial point - although even here the accusation is not direct but is made by reference to an earlier heretical eastern sect known as the 'Fourteeners' - because to celebrate the Easter feast on the same day as the Jews is blasphemous and heretical. Aldhelm's conclusion is clear-cut: such people cannot be regarded as part of the orthodox Church, however unfortunate or regrettable this may be.¹⁰⁶

Aldhelm then contrasts the Catholic faith with that of the priests of Dyfed (*Demetarum sacerdotes*) on the other side of the Severn, who glory in their private purity (*privata propria*), and who refuse to join with the Anglo-Roman clergy for the celebration of divine service or the sharing of meals. He criticises their lack of brotherly welcome and charity towards visiting Catholics, and compares them to the heretical Cathars. Yet even here there is a compassionate and almost conciliatory note towards the end of the passage, and it concludes with a reference to Mary Magdalene that

¹⁰⁶ Finberg's interpretation seems apt: 'there is an undertone of implication that if misfortune should ensue, the Cornishmen [*recte* Dumnonians] would only have their schismatic selves to thank for it': Finberg, 1964a, p.100.

'Many sins are forgiven her, because she has loved much'. Presumably this softening of tone is for the benefit of Gerent and the Dumnonian clergy rather than for the clergy of Dyfed. The Dumnonians have been, and apparently still are, participants in the doctrines of the British Church, but Aldhelm certainly does not want to bar the way to their becoming full members of the Anglo-Roman tradition. He is clearly inviting Gerent to contrast the Anglo-Roman Church with that of Dyfed, and again the indirect method of criticism is employed, yet there is more to it than that. Aldhelm represents Dumnonia's nearest English neighbours whilst Dyfed represents its nearest British ones, so Gerent is being invited not only to contrast their churches but also to choose between them. Yet for Gerent to abandon the church of Dumnonia's nearest British neighbours for that of its nearest English ones would surely mean moving from a British to an Anglo-Roman political orbit also - unless, of course, this had already been done. The reference to 'private purity' is perhaps an ironic echo of the choice with which the previous passage also concluded: to join with or to be cast out of the wider, and Catholic, Christian community.

This being the case, and for the sake of the shared destiny of the celestial fatherland (*propter communem caelestis patriae sortem*) and the company of the angelic host, Aldhelm entreats Gerent (now addressed as *vestram fraternitatem*) to abandon his proud and scornful rejection of the Petrine doctrines of the Roman Church, a rejection based on the ancient statutes of Gerent's predecessors. The *vestram fraternitatem* echoes a similar phrase in the letter's opening address, and is an inclusive form that contrasts with the exclusive theme of the previous passage; but the use of *patria*, 'fatherland', with its overtones of territorial identity, is unexpected. The context suggests that Aldhelm is using 'celestial fatherland' to mean 'heaven' while at the same time reiterating the importance of the choice that Gerent has to make, and in one sense it parallels Aldhelm's unifying concept of 'Britain' earlier in the letter.¹⁰⁷ Having made this appeal, Aldhelm then recounts the Biblical statement that Christ's Church would be built on the rock of Peter and that

¹⁰⁷ However, Lapidge & Herren, 1979, p.159, translate this phrase as 'on account of the common destiny of our fatherland', thereby omitting *caelestis* and significantly changing the emphasis. If correct, such an interpretation might give further weight to the idea of West Saxon overlordship suggested by the reference to 'Gerent's province'.

Peter would have the keys of heaven and the power of loosing and binding; and, after citing a line from his own poetry, he argues that one cannot renounce the Roman Easter and tonsure and not expect to be bound rather than loosed by Peter.¹⁰⁸ He notes that a clever student and interpreter of scripture might be able to defend himself by reciting what appears to be a version of the Catholic creed, and which Aldhelm quotes, but he rejects this excuse on the grounds that faith without works or charity is worthless.¹⁰⁹ In conclusion, Aldhelm summarises his argument: he who does not follow the teaching and rule of St Peter boasts vainly and idly about his Catholic faith. The final line of his letter, at least in its surviving form, repeats the Biblical quotation, 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church'.

* * *

The letter to king Gerent is clearly of fundamental importance to our understanding of relations between the Dumnonians and the West Saxons, but our ability to utilise the information within it is diminished if we are unable to date it and hence place it in its proper context. The problems of dating both the letter and Aldhelm's abbacy have become interlinked to some extent because his modern translators identified the *concilia episcoporum* mentioned in the letter with the Council of Hertford in September 672, and on this basis they argued that Aldhelm must have become an abbot in either 672 or 673, despite some admitted chronological problems.¹¹⁰ More recently, however, it has been shown that this identification is unsafe because the themes of Catholic unity and the correct observance of Easter are unlikely to have been unique to the Council of Hertford, while the chronological difficulties and our incomplete knowledge of early ecclesiastical councils

¹⁰⁸ The line of poetry is one that Aldhelm uses in four of his surviving works, of which the earliest is perhaps dated to soon after the beginning of his abbacy: see Lapidge & Rosier, 1985, p.38. As such, it provides another potential clue to the date of the letter, although not a particularly helpful one.

¹⁰⁹ The creed quoted by Aldhelm does not mention Peter, the celebration of Easter or the form of the tonsure, but implicitly allows the person reciting it to be 'included amongst the community of Catholics, according to the privilege of this faith, without any unhappy hindrance'.

¹¹⁰ Lapidge & Herren, 1979, pp.9, 14, 140-3 (where on p.142 it is admitted that 'events in Aldhelm's life become quite crammed' as a result of this dating); Lapidge & Rosier, 1985, pp.7-8, 15, 38.

and synods mean that the question should be left open.¹¹¹ With this linkage broken, we must turn to other evidence. The earliest reliable charters that Aldhelm witnesses as an abbot date from 681 and 682, but the combination of evidence provided by three of Aldhelm's other letters points to a date of *c.*674x678 for the commencement of his abbacy, which accords well with the date of *c.*675x676 implied by William of Malmesbury.¹¹² For the letter to Gerent, however, there may be a clue contained within a synchronisation given by Bede that allows us to suggest a closer dating than the *c.*674x706 defined by Aldhelm's abbacy.

One of the main themes of the fifth and final book of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* could be described as 'the triumph of the Anglo-Roman Church', dealing with the missions to Germany and the adoption of the Catholic Easter by the northern Irish, the Picts and even some Britons, and culminating with its adoption by the monks of Iona itself.¹¹³ The chronological framework within which the threads of this and other themes are narrated is roughly defined by the events leading to Berhtwold's consecration and enthronement in 693 (*HE* v 8), the consecration of

¹¹¹ Cubitt, 1995, pp.18-21, 61-4, 261.

¹¹² For the charters: S 71, S 236, S 237 (a further charter, S 1170, can only be dated to *c.*676x*c.*686); Edwards, 1988, pp.11-7, 90-2, 94-7. A letter written by Aldhelm to his former teacher Hadrian mentions two separate periods of study in Kent and that during the nearly three years since these he had been prevented from returning, not only by the apparently prolonged and debilitating illness that had cut short his second period of study but also by the events and vicissitudes of the times (Lapidge & Herren, 1979, pp.138-9, 153-4); the latter may refer to the years of political instability and dynastic conflict among the West Saxons following the death of Cenwalh in *c.*672 (on which see Kirby, 1991, pp.51-3; Yorke, 1995, pp.82-4). There is no indication in the letter that Aldhelm was now an abbot - indeed, a reference to himself as *bernaculus supplex* may indicate that he was not (but cf. Lapidge & Herren, 1979, p.136) - and his illness makes it improbable that he would have been able to take up such an appointment until some time after his reluctant return from Kent. Hadrian arrived in Britain in late 669 or during 670 and may not have become the abbot of the monastery of St Peter and St Paul at Canterbury until *c.*671 (*HE* iv 1-2; see also Colgrave & Mynors, 1969, p.333 n3), so it is unlikely that Aldhelm's first period of study could have commenced before mid-670 at the earliest. In another letter, probably to bishop Leuthere of Winchester, Aldhelm enthusiastically described his studies and apologised for being unable to return to celebrate Christmas in the company of his brethren (see Lapidge & Herren, 1979, pp.137-8, 152-3), which implies that one of his periods of study spread across parts of two consecutive years. Taken together, these two letters suggest that Aldhelm is very unlikely to have become an abbot before *c.*674, and a later date seems more probable. On the other hand, a letter written by Aldhelm to Wilfrid's abbots, in which he addresses them as 'sons of the same tribe' and urges them to accompany their dishonoured bishop into overseas exile, best fits the events surrounding Wilfrid's expulsion in 678 (Lapidge & Herren, 1979, pp.150-1, 168-70; for the date, see Cubitt, 1995, pp.250-1); and both the mode of address and the independent and authoritative stance taken strongly suggest that Aldhelm was himself an abbot by this time. William of Malmesbury stated that Aldhelm died in the thirty-fourth year after his being appointed abbot by bishop Leuthere (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, v, §231; Lapidge & Herren, 1979, p.183 n24; Preest, 2002, p.262. Leuthere died in or before 676: Fryde *et al.*, 1986, p.223), thereby implying a date in 675 or early 676 for the commencement of Aldhelm's abbacy, but we do not know whether William was drawing upon information now lost or whether he simply made a calculation similar to that outlined above.

¹¹³ *HE* v 9-10, 15, 18, 21-2; Wallace-Hadrill, 1988, pp.174, 198; Mayr-Harting, 1991, pp.112-3.

Willibrord in 696 [*recte* 695]¹¹⁴ (*HE* v 11) and Osred's accession in 705 (*HE* v 18); the final threads of the theme are drawn together with the 'conversion' of Iona [in 716] (*HE* v 22), leaving chapter twenty-three in which to summarise the period 725 to 731, the date at which Bede apparently completed the first draft of his history.¹¹⁵

In chapter eighteen, having synchronised the death of bishop Hædde and the division of his West Saxon see with the accession of Osred in Northumbria, Bede takes the opportunity to provide a few details about Aldhelm and West Saxon ecclesiastical matters.¹¹⁶ In the course of this, and drawing upon information either from Aldhelm's episcopal colleague, Daniel of Winchester, or from bishop Pehthelm of Whithorn, who had served as both deacon and monk under Aldhelm, Bede refers to Aldhelm's letter and says that by means of it 'he led many of those Britons who were subject to the West Saxons to adopt the catholic celebration of the Easter of the Lord'.¹¹⁷ The statement is a fairly unequivocal one; and unless either Daniel or Pehthelm had seriously exaggerated Aldhelm's role and West Saxon power, or Bede had completely misunderstood or misrepresented what they had told him, it seems likely that Bede's version of events is essentially accurate. The first part of his statement is almost incidental, and merely serves to identify the Britons in question, but it clearly implies that part or all of Dumnonia was already subject to West Saxon overlordship at the time that Aldhelm wrote to Gerent, and therefore appears to confirm the suspicion raised by Aldhelm's use of *provincia vestra* and other nuances in the letter itself. What was more important for Bede's purposes and theme, however, was that as a result of Aldhelm's letter there were even some Britons who had come to accept the Catholic Easter, particularly as this provided a striking contrast to Bede's more general perception

¹¹⁴ For the date of Willibrord's consecration, see McClure & Collins, 1994, p.414 (*re* p.252).

¹¹⁵ See e.g. *ibid.*, p.xii; Brooks, 1999, pp.7-8.

¹¹⁶ For the chronological implications of this synchronisation, see p.265 note 94 above.

¹¹⁷ *HE* Preface, v 13, v 18.

that the majority of the Britons still continued to oppose both the English and the correct date of Easter at the time at which he was writing.¹¹⁸

Nevertheless, the outcome of Aldhelm's letter is not the only time in book five that Bede mentions that some Britons had accepted the Catholic Easter. A few chapters earlier, at the beginning of chapter fifteen, he records that 'at this time ... the greater part of the Irish in Ireland and some of the Britons in Britain adopted the reasonable and canonical date for keeping Easter'. His chronological framework points to an implied synchronisation with Willibrord's consecration in 696 [*recte* 695], a date that receives a degree of independent support from the likelihood that the northern Irish adopted the Catholic Easter in *c.*697.¹¹⁹ The remainder of the chapter focuses on Adomnán, Iona and the northern Irish, and makes no further reference to these anonymous Britons. This apparent failure to provide any additional details or context may mean that Bede's only reason for mentioning them here is to establish a chronological association between their 'conversion' and that of the northern Irish, and that he was postponing further discussion of these unusual Britons until a more appropriate point in his narrative. If so, then either Bede neglected to tie up this particular thread or he was referring to the Dumnonians, who are the only other Britons he refers to in book five apart from his attacks on British obduracy in the final chapters. It therefore seems possible - to put it no more strongly than that - that the adoption of the Catholic Easter by at least some of the Dumnonians occurred in *c.*695-7, and that Aldhelm's letter to Gerent had been written at the request of an episcopal council held at some point in the immediately preceding period. No such council is known from the surviving records, but a Hwiccan charter of 693x?699 is witnessed by archbishop Berhtwald and seven of the southern bishops together with Wilfrid, the former bishop of the Northumbrians; and although such a gathering would technically constitute a synod rather than a council, Wilfrid's presence

¹¹⁸ Bede emphasises the general obstinacy of the Britons twice: *HE* v 22-3.

¹¹⁹ If Bede is correct in attributing the 'conversion' of the northern Irish to the efforts of Adomnán, then Adomnán's journey to Ireland to promulgate the *Cáin Adomnáin* at a gathering of senior southern and northern ecclesiasts and a number of secular leaders at Birr in 697 provides the most likely context for the adoption of the Catholic Easter by the northern Irish: *HE* v 15; Kenney, 1929, p.246; see also Richter, 1999, pp.68-9, 72-5.

may have enabled Aldhelm to feel justified in describing it as 'an episcopal council attended by innumerable priests from almost the whole of Britain'.¹²⁰ It is therefore possible that this Hwiccian or Mercian synod is the *concilia episcoporum* that prompted Aldhelm's letter, but the identification is far from certain and the question should remain open.

Although Bede's account was written some twenty years after Aldhelm's death, his informants on West Saxon affairs were both people who had been closely associated with Aldhelm, and it seems reasonable to accept the essence of Bede's version of events and the support it provides for the political situation implied by Aldhelm in his letter to Gerent. In other words, by the time that letter was written it seems probable that Dumnonia had become a client kingdom under West Saxon overlordship, perhaps as a result of a pragmatic decision by the Dumnonian ruling élite to affiliate itself with the dominant local power.¹²¹ It has already been suggested above that Dumnonian kingship may itself have been a form of overlordship, so the acceptance of another hierarchical level need not have been as traumatic as it might first appear. This clarification of the political situation may require us to reassess Aldhelm's rôle and the reason for his being asked to write to Gerent, particularly as Bede's account also suggests that the letter was at least partially effective. It may have been that abbot Aldhelm of Malmesbury was simply a respected and learned writer whose proximity to, and probably familiarity with, the Dumnonians made him the ideal and obvious choice. But whatever the ecclesiastical reasons - and because of the uncertainties regarding the identification of the council, we cannot attribute motives to particular individuals present - the mere fact that Aldhelm would have been perceived by the Dumnonians as a representative of their overlord would have given his letter a political dimension, even if the

¹²⁰ S 53; Sims-Williams, 1976, p.9 n1; Cubitt, 1995, p.259. The ambiguity created by Wilfrid's presence may explain why Aldhelm refers to it as an episcopal council whereas Bede refers to it as only a local synod. I am very grateful to Allan McKinley, who has let me see his provisional assessment of this charter in advance of his PhD thesis. He accepts it as authentic, but suggests that the attestation of bishop Otfar of the Hwicce before that of archbishop Berhtwold (and probably king Æthelred of Mercia, although his title is not given) and the unusual position of the anathema (following the witnesses) point to there being two sections to the witness-list, with the first representing the original grant by king Oshere of the Hwicce (with local witnesses) and the second representing a confirmation associated with an ecclesiastical synod, presumably held in the presence of king Æthelred.

¹²¹ For possible and roughly contemporary parallels in the west midlands, with smaller polities realigning themselves in relation to the rising power of Mercia, see Bassett, 2000a, pp.115-16.

West Saxon king was not directly involved in the decision to send it. With this in mind, it may have been political pragmatism as much as religious conviction that prompted and enabled Gerent, although perhaps aided by an existing pro-Catholic element within Dumnonia, to persuade a significant number of the Dumnonian clergy to adopt the Anglo-Roman date of Easter. This latter event can be suggested, albeit rather more tentatively, to have happened in the mid-690s or shortly afterwards.

* * *

The picture that begins to emerge from these discussions is of a British kingdom that was steadily, and perhaps not entirely unwillingly, being drawn ever further into an Anglo-Roman political and ecclesiastical orbit during the later part of the seventh century. The possibility that this occurred within the context of a more general increase in contacts with Anglo-Saxons and their culture is inferred from the anomalous 'Crook' place-names, which suggested that linguistic exchange between Primitive Cornish and Old English speakers was already taking place in eastern Dumnonia by the middle of the seventh century. Although the precise nature of these contacts must remain uncertain in the absence of further documentary or archaeological evidence - and although trade seems to provide as good an explanation as any, there were no doubt other reasons as well - they may have been greeted with mixed feelings in Dumnonia. We should not overlook the records of conflict in c.658 and c.682 that apparently led to the extension of direct West Saxon authority throughout what had once been the neighbouring territory of the Durotriges, nor should we underestimate the strong sense of British identity suggested by Aldhelm's reference to the Dumnonian clergy who defended the traditions of their predecessors.

Nevertheless, the impression derived from Aldhelm's letter to Gerent and his poem about the storm suggests a time of relative peace in the late seventh or very early eighth century during which dialogue and travel could be undertaken between the Dumnonians and the West Saxons. His writings also indicate a fair degree of tolerance and familiarity in local Anglo-British

ecclesiastical relations, irrespective of their doctrinal differences, and echo that presumably evidenced by the collaboration between bishop Wine and the two British bishops in the mid-660s. A similar degree of tolerance in the secular world is embodied within the laws attributed to the West Saxon king Ine, the earliest core of which originated between c.688 and 693 and perhaps not long before Aldhelm wrote to Gerent.¹²² These laws made specific provisions for 'Welshmen' living in West Saxon territory, who ranged in status from slaves to royal messengers to landholders with a rank equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon thegns; and although their wergild tended to be lower than that of the corresponding West Saxon social class, it is clear that the British population was a recognised and fairly integral part of West Saxon society.¹²³

This suggested reinterpretation of the initial stages and context of the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control in Dumnonia allows us to see another long-standing problem in a new light. It relates to the south-western origins of the Anglo-Saxon missionary Wynfrith, better known as St Boniface. We know a lot about his later career because we possess both an early *Life* and a considerable amount of surviving correspondence connected with Boniface and his mission; but although the *Life* was written within thirteen years of his death its author had never met him and relied on the recollections of Boniface's disciples in Germany, so the recorded events of his childhood and life before c.716 are often vague and of uncertain veracity.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, it is almost certain that he was born somewhere in the Exeter area during the latter part of the 670s; and although we do not know the names of his parents, Wynfrith was given an Anglo-Saxon name and it seems likely that they themselves were of West Saxon origin.¹²⁵ The *Life* is not quite our only source of information here, because in a letter written to Boniface by the nun Leofgyth

¹²² Attenborough, 1922, p.34. Wormald, 1999a, pp.103-5, points out that Ine's 'so-called code' was probably 'not a code at all but a series of enactments added to an original core over years or decades'; see *idem*, 1999b, pp.188-95.

¹²³ Attenborough, 1922, pp.36-61 *cap.* 23.3, 24.2, 32, 33, 54.2, 74. See also Ward-Perkins, 2000, pp.523-4, who suggests that this differential legal status may have been a powerful incentive for 'the Britons of Wessex ... to abandon their Britishness and become Anglo-Saxon. To do so, they probably had to adopt, not only the name, but also the speech [of the Anglo-Saxons]'.

¹²⁴ Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, the edition used is that of Levison, 1905, pp.1-58, and the translation is that by Talbot, 1954, pp.25-62. The correspondence is edited by Tangl, 1916, with selected translations by Talbot, 1954, pp.65-149.

¹²⁵ See chapter 3.2 above (at p.64 & note 4).

in c.732 she mentions the friendship that he had formed with her father Dynne when they were 'in the western regions' (*in occidentis regionibus*) and that her mother Aebbe was a kinswoman of Boniface, while Leofgyth's own *Life* states that her parents were 'of noble family'.¹²⁶ As we have already seen, the presence of a West Saxon family in Dumnonia during the 670s need not be seen as particularly unusual.

The key point so far as we are concerned, however, is that Boniface's *Life* states that his father allowed him to enter a monastery at Exeter when he was still a child, at a date that cannot be much later than c.685, and that he remained there until at least his late teens.¹²⁷ As Boniface was apparently a West Saxon and the abbot of the monastery had the Old English name Wulfheard, this has usually been taken as evidence that the area around Exeter had been under direct West Saxon control for some time previously; but in the light of the arguments presented above the evidence seems more likely to support the hypothesis of a collaborative relationship between Britons and Anglo-Saxons in a Dumnonia still under either independent or quasi-independent British rule in the late seventh century. This is certainly the impression given by Aldhelm's poem. Furthermore, if Wulfheard's monastery was the predecessor of the late Anglo-Saxon minster at Exeter and is to be associated with cemetery II - which, although probable, is by no means certain - then at the very least a continuity of Christian use of the site is implied.¹²⁸ A greater degree of continuity seemed likely even to researchers adopting the old 'progressive conquest and settlement' model, rather than the assumption that a new monastery had been built, staffed, equipped with books and enabled to receive and educate oblates by the mid-680s.¹²⁹ Whether the

¹²⁶ For the letter, see Tangl, 1916, pp.52-3, *ep.*29; Talbot, 1954, pp.87-8, no.17; cf. Greenaway, 1980, pp.44-5. Leofgyth's *Life* was written nearly sixty years after her death but based on earlier notes of oral accounts; it also notes that she entered a double monastery at Wimborne (in east Dorset) as a child, which may indicate that her family lived in that area: Talbot, 1954, pp.204-7, 210-1. Holdsworth, 1980, pp.52-3, notes that the brothers Willibald and Wynnebald may have been among other 'noble relatives' of Boniface.

¹²⁷ *Vita Bonifatii* §§1-2: he was sent *ad monasterium, quod priscorum nuncupatur vocabulo Ad-Escancastre*. His young age is also implied by a letter written to Boniface in 719 by Pope Gregory II, who acknowledged that 'from your childhood you have been a student of Sacred Scripture': Tangl, 1916, pp.17-8, *ep.*12; Talbot, 1954, pp.68-9, no.3.

¹²⁸ See pp.246-7 above; see also chapter 3.2 above (at pp.62-3).

¹²⁹ e.g. Henderson & Bidwell, 1982, p.145 (citing Hoskins); Allan *et al.*, 1984, p.392 ('we should certainly not rule out the possibility that the Saxon minster supplanted a British religious community'); Orme, 1991a, p.7 ('it occurs so

monastery at Exeter was a Dumnonian, West Saxon or mixed community must remain an open question, but we should perhaps be wary of assuming that the presence of an Anglo-Saxon abbot is automatically indicative of an 'Anglo-Saxon' monastery.

As a final consideration, there is a reference to a grant of land at Maker in Cornwall, on the western side of the Tamar estuary, supposedly made by Gerent to the minster at Sherborne. The details are vague and exist only in a late source, but the most recent studies of the material have concluded that the record is a genuine one.¹³⁰ We do not know the date of the grant, nor even whether the donor is the same as the king Gerent to whom Aldhelm was writing. Nevertheless, the identification is probable and the most likely context for the grant would seem to be soon after Aldhelm was appointed as the first West Saxon bishop 'to the west of the wood', either in late 705 or early 706, and when Sherborne apparently became his episcopal seat. Remembering Bede's comment that Aldhelm's letter led many Dumnonians to adopt the Anglo-Roman Easter, and the confused tenth-century traditions relating to the Cornish estates of the Anglo-Saxon bishops of Devon and Cornwall, is it possible that the Dumnonians were also persuaded to accept the real or nominal authority of a West Saxon bishop in the early eighth century? If this is indeed the case, then it suggests that whatever the precise nature of the political, ecclesiastical or personal relationship between Aldhelm and Gerent, its significance was of far greater importance than we might otherwise have supposed.

* * *

Aldhelm died either in late 709 or early in 710, and it is perhaps no coincidence that in *c.*710 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Ine of the West Saxons, accompanied by Nunna of the South Saxons, fought against Gerent, king of the Welsh (*Wala cyninge*).¹³¹ Clearly the period of peace and

early in the Saxon Conquest that the monks may be suspected of having taken over an existing church, itself perhaps monastic?); cf. chapter 3.2 above (at p.70 note 26) for a possible later tradition that the minster was founded in 670.

¹³⁰ O'Donovan, 1988, pp.xx-xxi, xxxvii-li, appendix 1 pp.81-2; Edwards, 1988, pp.243-53.

¹³¹ *ASC* A *s.a.* 710 (an annal accidentally omitted by the original scribe and added by a later hand: Bately, 1986, pp.xxxiv, xlvii n151).

collaboration was at an end; but although it looks as though Ine and Nunna were the aggressors, once again the *Chronicle* gives us no real indication as to why or where the battle was fought nor as to which side was victorious, and English sources provide us with no further information for nearly twenty years. However, in the late eighth century someone working at St David's, in Dyfed, compiled a set of annals that eventually formed the basis of the *Annales Cambriae*. In a retrospective entry corresponding to the year 722, the compiler gave a list of three battles in which the Britons had been victorious against unspecified opponents, of which the first was *bellum Hehil apud Cornuenses*.¹³² Whatever the source of the Dyfed compiler's information, the name *Hehil* is unlikely to have derived from a recently-formed Old English place-name, so attempts to identify the battle-site with one of the several places called Hele (which derives from *hēale*, the dative of Old English *halh* 'nook') in Devon are misguided.¹³³ It is far more probable that *Hehil* is a Primitive Cornish word related to Old Cornish **beyl*, with the sense 'salt river, estuary', which survives in several Cornish place-names and in the river-names Hayle in west Cornwall as well as being an earlier name for the Camel estuary.¹³⁴ Whether *Hehil* actually refers to one of these Cornish place-names is uncertain, however. The reference to *apud Cornuenses* is more likely to reflect the Dyfed compiler's perception of the late eighth-century political situation than that existing in the early eighth century, and there are numerous coastal streams, rivers and estuaries in both Devon and Cornwall for which an earlier name *Hehil* could have passed out of use and been replaced long before it was mentioned in another surviving record. All we can really say on the basis of the Welsh annal for 722 is that the British of the south-western peninsula apparently had retained sufficient military capability to inflict a defeat upon their opponents in the early eighth century.¹³⁵

¹³² Hughes, 1980, pp.72, 100; see also Dumville, 1977, p.176.

¹³³ For Hele, see Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, pp.46-7 *et passim*; for OE *halh*, see Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.123-33.

¹³⁴ Padel, 1985, pp.127-8; see also Ekwall, 1928, pp.192-3; *idem*, 1960, pp.228, 232 (*s.n.* Hayle, Helford); Mills, 1998, pp.172, 174 (*s.n.* as previous).

¹³⁵ *contra* Stenton, 1971, p.73.

What does seem certain, however, is that the Dumnonian rulers had lost political control of eastern, central and at least part of northern Devon by the late 720s, because the earliest reliable Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Devon show West Saxon rulers granting land by the river Torridge to Glastonbury abbey in *c.*729 and land by the river Creedy to the bishop of Sherborne in *c.*739, in the latter instance for the purpose of founding a minster (see Fig. 4.5).¹³⁶ Although it would be wrong to place too much weight on only two surviving charters, particularly as we have only one corresponding Dumnonian grant - that of Maker - with which to contrast them, even this evidence need not imply that the part of Devon lying to the north of Dartmoor had been acquired as a result of West Saxon military conquest in the early eighth century. Other models for the assumption of direct control by the overlord are available; and among the possible analogues is the contemporary situation regarding the kingdom of the Hwicce, where the charter evidence appears to reflect the steady increase in the authority of the Mercian overlords at the expense of the local rulers of the Hwicce.¹³⁷ It is also notable that this area of Devon, with the addition of the adjacent part of north-eastern Cornwall, closely corresponds to that in which the Old English habitative place-name element *cot* is recorded, an element that is almost completely absent from south Devon and the rest of Cornwall.¹³⁸ Furthermore, over seventy of these *cot* place-names have the directional qualifiers 'east', 'north', 'south' or 'west', an unusually high proportion that suggests parallels to a similar pattern of recurrent *tūn* compounds recorded in Shropshire; and in both cases it seems possible that these 'directional compounds' originated as convenient Anglo-Saxon administrative labels for parts of recognised land-units that gradually replaced the pre-existing, and presumably Primitive Cornish or Welsh, place-names.¹³⁹ In any event, the restricted

¹³⁶ S 1676; S 255; Edwards, 1988, pp.70, 255-8; Abrams, 1996, pp.232-4. The attempt by Finberg, 1964a, pp.100-4, to suggest that Ine was able to grant land by the river Tamar in 705/6 has been rebutted effectively: see Edwards, 1988, pp.31-2; Padel, 1991, pp.250-2; Abrams, 1996, pp.231-2. Note that in Fig. 4.5 the episcopal estates of Pawton, *Cellwic* and Lawhitton mentioned in S 1296 and S 1451a have been included as perhaps being the subjects of royal West Saxon grants before *c.*854, although this is not certain: see chapter 3.2 above (at pp.66-8 & notes 12-15).

¹³⁷ See Bassett, 1989b, pp.6-17.

¹³⁸ See Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.675-6; Todd, 1987, p.274; Padel, 1999, p.94 & map 13.5. See also *idem*, 1982, pp.18-19, for discussion of further evidence for this apparent linguistic boundary in north-eastern Cornwall.

¹³⁹ Gelling, 1993, pp.55-6.

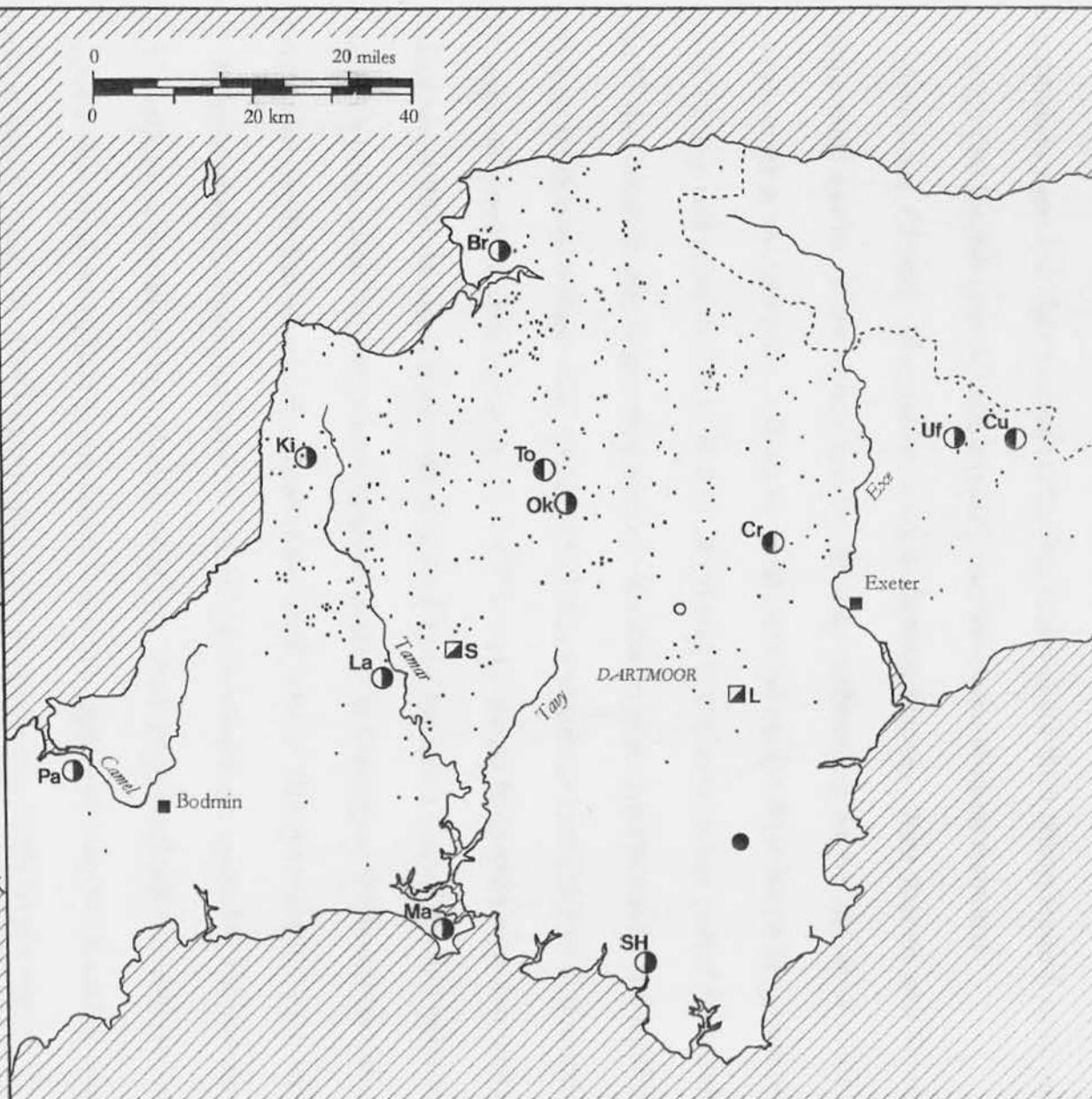
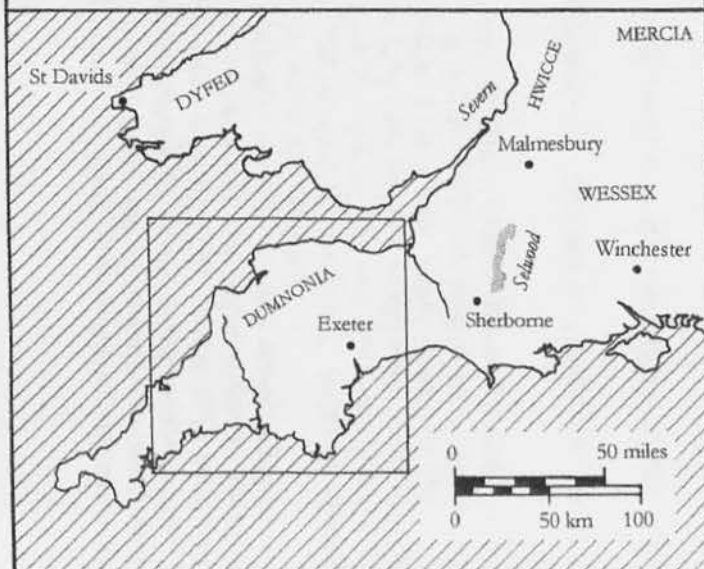
Figure 4.5: The transition from British to West Saxon control in eastern Dumnonia, c.710-c.850

West Saxon royal grants:

- 8th century:
To Torridge (c.729) **Cr** Creedy (c.739)
Cu Culm & Combe (757x86)
- 9th century (before c.854):
Br Braunton **La** Lawhitton
Ki Kilkhampton **Ma** Maker & Ros
Ok Okement **Pa** Pawton & *Callwic*
SH South Hams **Uf** Uffculme

Other details:

- ⋯ Place-names with OE *cot* as generic (after Padel, 1999, map 13.5) [NB: Dashed line marks limit of area surveyed]
 ■ Category 1 'pillar' stones, probably 8th century or later
 L Lustleigh **S** Stowford
 ● Beornwyn's estate at Dartington (c.833)
 ○ Treable



distribution of these *cot* place-names in Devon and Cornwall is significant and suggests that during the main period of their formation the area under direct West Saxon control, or at least that in which Old English speech predominated, may have been similarly restricted.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* subsequently records fighting between West Saxons and Britons during the third quarter of the eighth century, although without any further details or context, after which there is another period of silence until c.815, when the West Saxon king Ecgberht launched a major raid upon the 'West Welsh' (*Westwalas*) that initiated a new period of sporadic conflict.¹⁴⁰ As a result of this, Ecgberht apparently was able to grant lands in eastern and northern Cornwall to the bishop of Sherborne, among which was a regrant or confirmation of the land at Maker originally granted to Sherborne by Gerent.¹⁴¹ It is also during Ecgberht's reign that we first have evidence of West Saxons holding land in south Devon, because a charter of c.833 refers to a Dorsetshire woman called Beornwyn who inherited an estate at Dartington 'in Dumnonia', which implies that her family had been holding land to the north-west of Totnes for some years prior to this.¹⁴² That the whole of Devon had passed from British to West Saxon control by the mid-ninth century seems to be confirmed by a charter of 847 by which king Æthelwulf recorded his own possession of twenty hides of land in the South Hams, although even here the boundary clause suggests an area in which the Old English place-nomenclature was of fairly recent origin.¹⁴³ It is also at about this time that we get our first definite reference to a British bishop in the south-western peninsula, because there survives a profession of canonical obedience made to

¹⁴⁰ *ASC* A s.a. 753, 755 (a retrospective entry referring to the period 757-86; cf. S 262 of 766 or 774, which refers to conflict with *Cornubiorum gentis*; Yorke, 1990, p.141), 813, 823 (cf. S 273 of 825, referring to an expedition *contra Brittones*; Edwards, 1988, p.152), 835. In addition, *ASC* A s.a. 743 refers to a battle fought against the 'Welsh' (*wif Walas*) by Cuthred of Wessex in alliance with Æthelbald of Mercia, but this almost certainly refers to the Britons of Wales rather than those of south-western Britain: Kirby, 1991, pp.133-4; and see Edwards, 1988, pp.178-9 *re* S 93.

¹⁴¹ The three estates are those named in the 'Sherborne list' - i.e. Kilkhampston, *Ras* and Maker - not those referred to in 'Dunstan's letter' (S 1296): see section 3.2 above (at pp.67-8); see also note 136 above.

¹⁴² S 277; Edwards, 1988, pp.234-6. If an area roughly corresponding to south Devon had indeed remained under British rather than West Saxon control until the late eighth or early ninth century, this might explain the place-name Denbury (now in Torbryan parish, but formerly an ecclesiastical parish in its own right: Youngs, 1979, p.83; Kain & Oliver, 1995, p.132), recorded as *Deveneberie* in 1086 and meaning 'the *burh* of the Devon, or Dumnonian, people': see Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, p.xiv n1; ii, p.523; Ekwall, 1960, p.141; Mills, 1998, p.111; and see also below for the derivation of 'Devon' from 'Dumnonia'. The referent is a hillfort sited about one mile south of West Oggwell, and may indicate a loosely defined border zone.

¹⁴³ S 298; Finberg, 1968, p.81; see also Hooke, 1994, pp.105-12.

archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury (833-870) by Kenstec, bishop of the Cornish (*episcopi Cornubiensis*), whose episcopal seat of *Dinuurnin* may be an earlier name for Bodmin.¹⁴⁴

Yet we should not imagine that these changes in the relative, and possibly fluctuating, extents of British and West Saxon political authority were accompanied by corresponding large-scale changes in the ethnic composition of the population, despite the old model's interpretation of the place-name evidence. The inclusive nature of Ine's 'law-code' alone should be enough to warn us against this, although the distinction in legal status between English and *Wealas* may well have been an incentive to acculturation on the part of the latter.¹⁴⁵ Admittedly, the place-nomenclature of modern Devon is almost entirely English, but this represents the outcome of centuries of often unrecorded place-name formation and replacement.¹⁴⁶ Even within central Devon, there are fragments of surviving evidence that suggest that identifiably 'British' influences on local culture persisted for a considerable time. For example, two inscribed stones - one at Lustleigh on the eastern edge of Dartmoor (and lying just within the Exeter hinterland survey area) and another at Stowford in west Devon - bear Celtic personal names and appear to be very much a continuation of the pattern of such élite commemorative monuments that we considered earlier; yet their use of a predominantly insular script suggests a date in the eighth century or even later for the erection of these stones.¹⁴⁷ Obviously, the use of such personal names need not indicate that these individuals identified themselves as 'British' rather than 'Anglo-Saxon', yet the apparent continuity of tradition means that the possibility should not be discounted.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Birch, 1885-99, ii, p.145 no.527; Orme, 1991a, p.19; cf. chapter 3.2 above (at p.67 note 12) *re* the date of 838 [*recte* c.936] associated with bishop Conan in S Plym 1 (on which see O'Donovan, 1988, p.liii).

¹⁴⁵ Wormald, 1999a, pp.105-6; Ward-Perkins, 2000, pp.523-4 *et passim*.

¹⁴⁶ This process is discussed in section 4.3 below, but it is also worth noting that evidence from other parts of Britain indicates that about 68 (i.e. 30%) of the 224 place-names recorded from Old English contexts in or before c.731 have not survived as modern forms, which points to a considerable degree of replacement of both pre-English and early Old English place-names in subsequent centuries: see Cox, 1976, *passim*; Gelling, 1988, pp.69-70.

¹⁴⁷ Okasha, 1993, pp.165-70 (29 Lustleigh), 268-70 (57 Stowford); see also *ibid.*, p.57, *contra* Swanton & Pearce, 1982, p.140; Thomas, 1994, pp.281, 301 n16.

¹⁴⁸ See also Insley, 1998, p.179, who notes that two late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon charters preserved at Exeter and relating to lands in Cornwall [S 755, S 832] 'are for men with part-Cornish names: Wulfnoth Rumuncant and Ælfheah Gerent', which suggests that some people chose to adopt a dual cultural identity.

Also within the present survey area was *Hypeles eald land*, granted to Ælfsige by king Edward in 976, which may have formed part of Cheriton Bishop in 1086; it occurs as *Tryfebel* in 1242 (now Treable), the first element of which is the Primitive Cornish word *treff*, meaning ‘farmstead, estate’ and roughly equivalent to the Old English word *tūn* (itself interchangeable with Old English *land* in some contexts), while the second element appears to be a Primitive Cornish personal name **Ebell*, of which *Hypel(e)* is an Old English representation.¹⁴⁹ Again, the reference to *Hypeles eald land* need not imply that in the late tenth century the land was still remembered as having been held by someone who was identifiably ‘British’, rather than simply an Anglo-Saxon with a Primitive Cornish name, but the survival of the Primitive Cornish place-name - and, perhaps more importantly, its apparent translation into Old English - add considerable weight to such an interpretation. Indeed, we have already seen that the account by the twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury, which claimed that an identifiably ‘Cornish’ population had lived in Exeter ‘in equal rights with the English’ until expelled by Æthelstan in the early tenth century, may have a reliable basis and receives indirect support from other sources.¹⁵⁰

The probability that both monoglot and bilingual speakers of Primitive Cornish and Old English co-existed in Devon throughout the eighth century receives further support from the limited evidence for vernacular linguistic developments. In this instance, my example relates to way in which the name Dumnonia developed to become the modern county name Devon.¹⁵¹ The sequence of philological processes established by Kenneth Jackson enables us to reconstruct a

¹⁴⁹ S 830; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.429; Finberg, 1953, pp.28-32; Hooke, 1994, pp.176-80; Padel, 1999, pp.89-90; but cf. Breeze *apud* Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.138-9, who prefers to see **Ebell* as a lost Brittonic stream-name **Ebil* ‘auger, gimlet’ rather than a personal name. For the interchange of *tūn* and *land*, see Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.280-1. For discussion of the land-unit, see chapter 3.2.1 above (at pp.127-8).

¹⁵⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii, §134.6; see chapter 3.2 above (at pp.68-71), although cf. the comments in section 4.3 below *re* the local place-name evidence preserved from late ninth- and tenth-century contexts. However, it is also worth noting the suggestion by Finberg, 1968, p.81 [citing S 498, the *Brentefordland* charter, on which see chapter 3.2.1 above (at p.119) and section 4.3 below], that ‘as late as 944 king Edmund, in a charter disposing of land in Devon, styles himself ‘king of the English and ruler of this British province’ (*hujusque provincie Britonum ruris gubernator*)’, which Finberg regarded as ‘clear proof that Dumnonia was still thought of as an appendage not fully integrated into the English realm’.

¹⁵¹ The development of the name ‘Devon’ from that of ‘Dumnonia’ has long been recognised: see, for example, Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, p.xiv n1.

series of linguistic developments in Late British by which the spoken form of the word *Dumnonia* would have developed to **/Dǔmōniā/* (by lenition of */m/* > */μ/*, discussed further below), then to **/Dǔmōnēniā/* (through vowel affection of */o/* > */ē/* by final */i/*), then to **/Dōmōnēniā/* (because of the development of */ǔ/* > */o/* in Primitive Cornish and Breton), and finally to **/Dōmōnēn'/* (through the loss of final syllables), giving a form **/Dōmōnēn/* that probably would have been spelt **Domnen* by the time that Primitive Cornish emerged as a distinct language at the end of the sixth century.¹⁵²

What are of interest to us, however, are two subsequent developments in Primitive Cornish that led to **Domnen* being borrowed into Old English in a form that gave rise to the *Defna(s)* and *Defena(scire)* recorded in the ninth century, and hence to the modern name Devon.¹⁵³ The first of these developments was that whereby the nasality of the spirant */μ/* that resulted from the lenition of intervocal */m/* steadily weakened to become */v/* in both Old Cornish and Old Welsh.¹⁵⁴ This development occurred gradually between the fifth and eleventh centuries, and when words containing Primitive or Old Cornish */μ/* were borrowed into Old English it was represented by */m/* in the earlier stages and by */v/* (usually spelt *f*) in the later ones. Cases of borrowings as */m/* in south-western Britain occur well into the eighth century and even as far west as Cornwall, yet Old English *Defenascire* and *Defna(s)* must result from the adoption of the Primitive Cornish pronunciation **/Dōmōnēn/* at a stage when Old English */v/* was becoming a

¹⁵² On the philological processes underlying these developments, see Jackson, 1953, §§94ff, 131ff, 141-2 (for lenition of */m/* > */μ/*), §§155ff, 165-9 (for final *i*-affection), §5.1 (for the development */ǔ/* > */o/* in Primitive Cornish and Breton), §§177ff (for loss of final syllables). Jackson (*ibid.*, p.675) also suggested the Primitive Cornish form **/Dōmōnēn'/*, although the intermediate forms given here are my own suggestions based on his account of the various processes involved.

¹⁵³ The Old English forms cited here are from *ASC A s.a.* 823, 851.

¹⁵⁴ For the use of */μ/* to represent all the stages of this process, see Coates & Breeze, 2000, p.xi (*contra* Jackson, 1953, pp.7, 481, *et passim*). Jackson, 1953, §§96ff, notes that the spelling of *v*, *u* or *f* for */μ/* in Old Welsh or Old Cornish is 'exceedingly rare' before c.1100. Thomas has suggested that there are two inscriptional examples from Cornwall in which */μ/* is represented by *f* or *v* rather than *m* in the seventh century, but neither his readings nor his dates for these inscriptions can be regarded as reliable: Thomas, 1994, pp.129 n16, 282, 291, 301 n25, 302-3 n52; cf. Okasha, 1993, pp.73-5 (4 Bosworrey), 179-81 (32 Madron II); see also section 4.1 above (at p.258 note 69).

better representation than /*m*/ of the Primitive Cornish /*μ*/ sound.¹⁵⁵ Obviously, this process cannot be dated precisely and presumably there was a period of ambiguity in which either /*m*/ or /*v*/ could be substituted for the Primitive Cornish /*μ*/ as heard or represented by Old English or bilingual speakers. Nevertheless, it suggests that the two vernacular languages were developing alongside each other before this linguistic development in Primitive Cornish had reached the critical point of denasalisation, and consequently that the Primitive Cornish language may have survived alongside Old English well into the eighth century.¹⁵⁶

The second of the linguistic developments was that by which the /*o*/ of Primitive Cornish */*Dōmnen*/ became /*e*/ and gave rise to the form */*Deμnen*/. There is no evidence in Primitive Cornish for ‘pretonic reduction’ of the type that began to occur in Primitive Welsh during the late sixth century, in which an unstressed /*ũ*/ or /*ĩ*/ preceding a stressed syllable was reduced to /*a*/ (spelt *i*, *e*, or *y* when borrowed into Old English); instead, the development of /*o*/ to /*e*/ in Primitive Cornish must have been caused by the influence of the existing /*e*/ vowel in the following syllable.¹⁵⁷ This process, known as ‘internal *i*-affection’, is evidenced in Primitive Cornish in the ninth century but had not occurred by the time that the river-name Torridge (in northern Devon and recorded as *Torric* in Æthelheard’s grant to Glastonbury in *c.*729, noted above) had been borrowed into Old English.¹⁵⁸ As with the evidence relating to the development

¹⁵⁵ The only example of neo-Brittonic /*μ*/ being borrowed as Old English /*v*/ rather than /*m*/ in Somerset or Dorset is the *Frowemutha* recorded by Henry of Huntingdon; however, this was probably in the area of Wareham, where a local population seems to have retained its British identity well into the eighth century: *contra* Jackson, 1953, p.488 n1; but *cf.* Yorke, 1995, pp.69-72. By contrast, there are numerous examples of Primitive Cornish /*μ*/ being represented by Old English /*m*/ from Devon and even from Cornwall, while the most easterly examples of representation by Old English /*v*/ rather than /*m*/ in Devon are Denbury in south Devon (*Deveneberie* in 1086; see note 142 above) and the river Tavy in west Devon: see Alexander, 1942, pp.179-80; Jackson, 1953, pp.486-8.

¹⁵⁶ This explanation differs from that of Jackson, 1953, pp.490-3, who was influenced (both here and in his interpretation of internal *i*-affection in Primitive Cornish, noted below) by the chronology and nature of the transition from Dumnonian to West Saxon control suggested by contemporary ‘progressive conquest and settlement’ models of the type discussed above.

¹⁵⁷ Jackson, 1953, §§155, 164-6 (for internal *i*-affection of /*o*/ > /*e*/ in Primitive Cornish), §§201ff (for pretonic reduction of Primitive Welsh /*ũ*/ and /*ĩ*/ [together with original /*ẽ*/, /*õ*/ and /*o*/ vowels that had been raised to either of these values] to /*a*/, which was spelt *y*, *i*, or *e* in Old and Middle Welsh).

¹⁵⁸ For *Torric*, see S 1676; Edwards, 1988, p.70; Abrams, 1996, pp.232-4. For the chronology of internal *i*-affection in Primitive Cornish, see Jackson, 1953, §§170-6. However, Jackson felt unable to accept the conclusions of his own argument so far as they applied to the name */*Deμnen*/ because these conflicted with the models of the Anglo-

of Primitive Cornish /μ/, this suggests that the development of /ø/ to /ɛ/ - and therefore the spoken form */*Dejnen*/ - is most likely to have been one that originated in Primitive Cornish during the eighth century, and that Old English *Defna(s)*, meaning the people of Devon, is unlikely to have been adopted from Primitive Cornish */*Dejnen*/ before at least part of eastern Dumnonia had come under direct West Saxon control. Again, this suggests that linguistic exchange between Old English and Primitive Cornish speakers continued throughout most of the eighth century. What is perhaps even more significant is that the Old English-speaking inhabitants of the eastern part of the former Dumnonian kingdom adopted, and identified themselves by reference to, the name of the British polity.

The evidence considered above, drawn from a variety of sources, suggests that rather than being seen as a swift military conquest in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control and influence in Devon needs to be extended both forwards and backwards in time, encompassing the whole of the period from the mid-seventh century through until at least the early ninth century. A critical stage in the political aspects of that transition appears to be focussed around unknown and unrecorded events in the 710s and the 720s, during which time the West Saxons took direct control of those parts of Devon lying to the north and east of Dartmoor; but the cultural aspects of the transition had already started well before this and continued for a long time afterwards. At times there were undoubtedly sporadic episodes of armed conflict, some of which are recorded, albeit virtually devoid of context, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Yet it would almost certainly be a mistake to regard the entire transitional period as one dominated by political conflict and constant warfare, and it seems more probable that for most of the time Primitive Cornish, Old English and bilingual speakers lived alongside

Saxon 'progressive conquest and settlement' of Dumnonia current at the time at which he was writing. Instead (*ibid.*, pp.664, 674 n1, 675, 681), he suggested that although pretonic reduction did not occur in Primitive Cornish it might have occurred in a version of either Primitive Cornish or Welsh spoken in what became Somerset and Dorset; if so, then either reduction could have spread from there into eastern Devon or the name */*Dejnen*/ could have been borrowed from a spoken form in Dorset or Somerset rather than that in Dumnonia itself. Both of these suggestions require 'special pleading' that is unnecessary once the traditional model of the transition process has been discarded.

each other throughout the whole of the area that we now refer to as Devon. The old 'progressive conquest and settlement' model relied, at least in part, on an interpretation of the place-name evidence that emphasised 'the prevailing English character of the local nomenclature of Devon'.¹⁵⁹ With the provisional new model proposed above in mind, we can begin to make some preliminary moves towards a reassessment of the place-name evidence relating to the Exeter hinterland survey area.

4.3: Place-name formation in Exeter's hinterland, c.100 to c.1000.¹⁶⁰

The English Place-Name Society's volumes for Devon were written seventy years ago and are decidedly primitive by comparison to those produced in more recent decades. Although they are much in need of revision, however, such a daunting task is well beyond my resources of time or space here, even for the small part of Devon that constitutes my present survey area. In addition, if we are considering a process of transition, then there is a need to adopt an approach to the surviving place-name evidence that allows us to detect any changes in the patterns of place-name formation over time. Finally, the scant and fragmentary nature of the evidence is such that a single charter boundary clause can seriously distort our overall picture by providing a mass of minor names and boundary points that end up assuming a significance that is out of all proportion to their importance in terms of settlement patterns and administrative status.¹⁶¹

My solution to these problems is threefold. Firstly, in order to avoid a preponderance of late-recorded forms that may reflect only the later stages of place-name formation and replacement, and also to reduce the volume of data requiring analysis, I intend to include only those place-name forms that are reliably evidenced by records originating in and before the time of Domesday Book. Secondly, but with the exception of the names from Roman Britain, I will

¹⁵⁹ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, p.xix.

¹⁶⁰ A shortened version of the following section was presented as a paper to the Medieval Postgraduate Research Seminar at the University of Birmingham in February 2001.

¹⁶¹ Aspects of this problem are discussed, albeit briefly, by Coates & Breeze, 2000, p.275.

focus only on the so-called ‘major names’ and river-names.¹⁶² Such an approach will necessarily omit a number of minor names that are recorded in pre-Conquest sources, together with a few major names that are recorded only after the time of Domesday Book, and it can never eliminate the problem that the earliest record of a place-name may post-date the coining of that name by several centuries; nevertheless, it seems to provide the best possible ‘level playing-field’ for this type of analysis. Thirdly, I will examine this body of evidence in roughly ‘chronological order’, beginning with the evidence from the Romano-British period and culminating with that from the tenth century (and reserving for a separate section a brief discussion of the overview that Domesday Book provides for the late eleventh century), because this maximises the opportunities for detecting any changes in the patterns of place-name formation.

Within the present survey area, we know of three place-names and two river-names from the Roman period whose identification and location are fairly certain (see Fig. 4.6). There may yet be a couple of others as well, for several of the names transcribed by the Ravenna Cosmographer from his map of south-western Britain have not yet been properly identified.¹⁶³ The Romano-British name of Exeter itself, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, is preserved in a number of documentary and epigraphic sources, the earliest of which records the name simply as *Isca* and probably preserves the form current by the late first century AD.¹⁶⁴ *Isca* is also recorded separately as a river-name in our earliest source, and clearly refers to the river Exe; the second part of the place-name is a qualifier that refers to the tribal name Dumnonii, the source of the later names Dumnonia and Devon discussed above. *Isca* is in many ways an obscure word, and several problems regarding its form and development have not yet been fully resolved; but it is apparently a Celtic, or perhaps a ‘modified pre-Celtic’, word relating to the senses ‘water’ and ‘fish’ in some way, and whose

¹⁶² The use of the term ‘major names’ is discussed in Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.xxiii. For present purposes, it will be used to mean the place-names that became those of holdings recorded in Domesday Book and those that became the names of ecclesiastical parishes as recorded in the nineteenth-century tithe surveys. The question of what each Domesday place-name represents or includes (in terms of settlements and land-units) was discussed in chapter 2.3 above (at pp.44-8) and is further discussed, albeit briefly, in section 4.4 below.

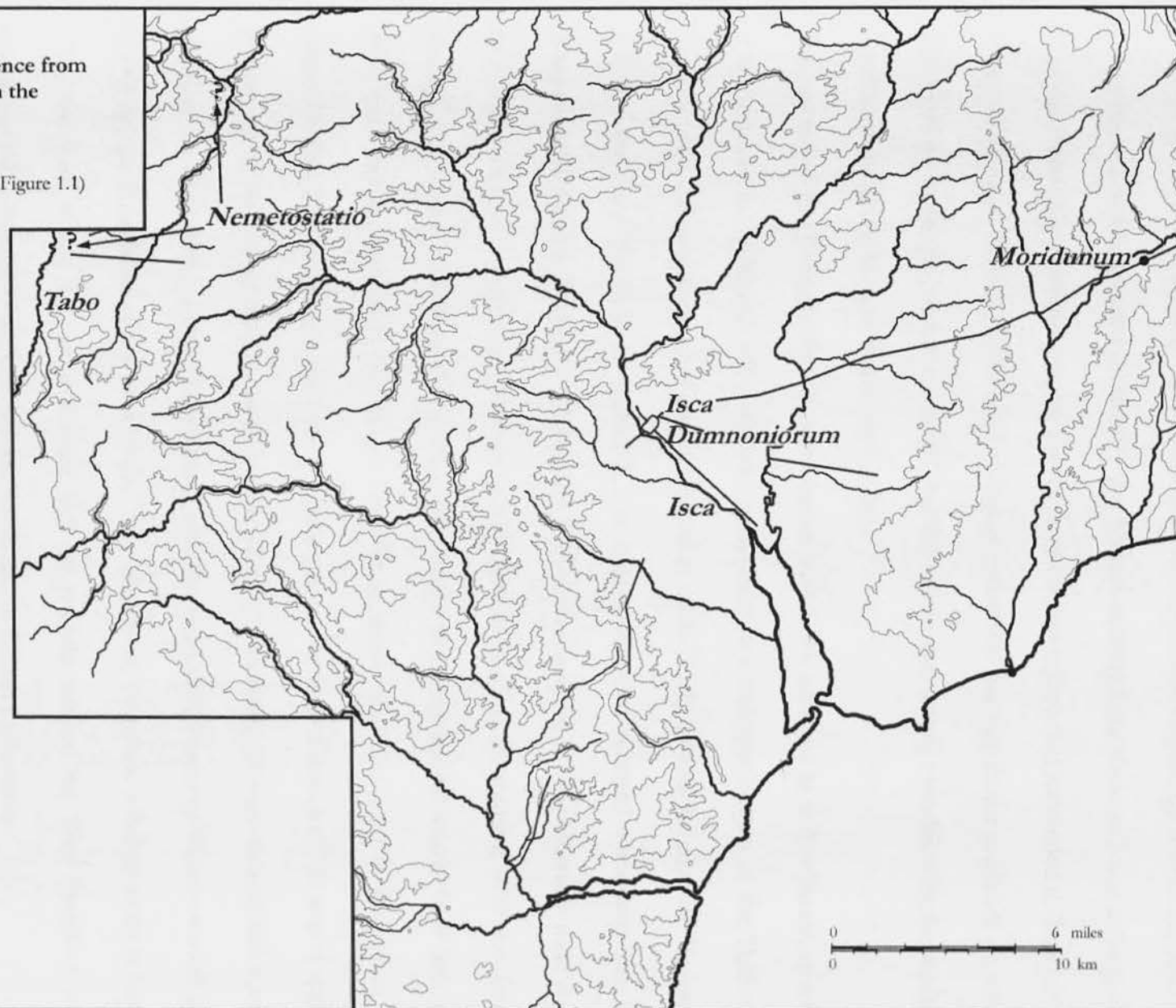
¹⁶³ Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.197-8, 205-6; see also Todd, 1999, for a recent, albeit brief, review.

¹⁶⁴ Rivet & Smith, 1979, p.378; see also *ibid.*, pp.103, 114-5 for the dating of Ptolemy and his sources.

Figure 4.6: The place-name evidence from Exeter's hinterland in the Roman period

(Note: scale, rivers and contours as for Figure 1.1)

— Known and probable
Roman roads



meaning can perhaps be rendered as 'trout river'.¹⁶⁵ As yet there is no evidence for any significant pre-Roman settlement at Exeter,¹⁶⁶ so on the basis of our present knowledge it would appear that the river-name *Isca* was adopted to identify the Roman military base there and was subsequently used as the identifying settlement-name for the major urban centre that succeeded it. This earliest evidence of Romano-British habits of place-name formation has significant implications, which will be returned to shortly, and it is notable that the river-name was not modified by the addition of a suffix when it first became a settlement-name.

The second of the Romano-British place-names within the survey area is *Moridunum*, which is first recorded in the collection of routes, stopping-places and mileages known as the 'Antonine Itinerary', whose present form probably originated in c.300.¹⁶⁷ The precise location of *Moridunum* seems to have been resolved by recent rescue excavations that revealed a military base and subsequent settlement at Pomeroy Wood near Gittisham, sited on a major Roman road about fifteen miles east of Exeter and with an occupation attested as continuing into the fourth century.¹⁶⁸ The name *Moridunum* almost certainly derives from the British words **mori* 'sea' and **dūnon* 'fort', and this seemingly odd use of **mori* for an inland site also occurs in *Vindomora*, the Romano-British place-name for the fort at Ebchester on the river Derwent.¹⁶⁹ It would appear that **mori* could also be applied to inland waters or to a broadening of river-waters; and a sense 'water fort' or 'river fort' is certainly consistent with the location of Pomeroy Wood on a hill-spur overlooking the flood plain of the river Otter.¹⁷⁰ At *Moridunum*, therefore, a British word referring to the function of the site as a Roman fort or posting station has been qualified by a topographical description of the site to form the Romano-British place-name.

¹⁶⁵ Ekwall, 1928, pp.151-6; Jackson, 1953, pp.259, 578; *idem*, 1970, pp.74-5; Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.26, 376-8; Sims-Williams, 1982, p.93; Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.293, 365.

¹⁶⁶ Todd, 1987, p.193; Henderson, 1999, p.482.

¹⁶⁷ Rivet, 1970, pp.36-7; the earliest surviving manuscript containing the 'British Section' is of eighth-century date, and a number of related but distinct versions survive from later centuries: *ibid.*, pp.67-8.

¹⁶⁸ Grove, 1999, p.403, who notes that Rivet had suggested that perhaps we should be looking for an inland site in the parish of Gittisham, and that 'what is sought may be not a large Roman town but a small and insignificant posting station' (citing Rivet, 1970, pp.60-2, 65); see also Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.421-2.

¹⁶⁹ Jackson, 1970, pp.77, 81; Rivet & Smith, 1979, p.421.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, pp.421, 502-3; Fitzpatrick & Grove, 1999, p.223; Grove, 1999, p.403.

The anonymous 'Ravenna Cosmographer', whose sources for Roman Britain appear to have been copies of three late Roman maps, provides two further names.¹⁷¹ The first of these is a river-name; and although the forms preserved in this problematic source need to be handled with a little caution, the entry *Eltabo* can convincingly be corrected to *Fl(umen) Tabo*, or **Tavus*, and this can confidently be identified as the river Taw, in the west of the present survey area.¹⁷² It used to be thought that this was a Brittonic word meaning 'the silent one', but this is hardly a good description of the river Taw and it seems more likely that it is a pre-Celtic river-name meaning 'the strong, or powerful, river'.¹⁷³ It provides a useful reminder that words of Celtic derivation are not always the earliest linguistic strata preserved within the surviving place-name evidence.

The Ravenna Cosmography also provides us with the third of our Romano-British place-names, which can best be restored as *Nemetostatio*.¹⁷⁴ As with *Moridunum*, the second part of the name, *statio*, refers to the Roman fort or posting-station itself, almost certainly either the Roman site near North Tawton or that at Bury Barton.¹⁷⁵ The first part of the place-name is the British word **nemeto*, whose Celtic cognates can refer to natural 'sacred groves' but whose primary sense in Roman Britain may have been 'constructed shrine'.¹⁷⁶ This obviously has implications for any interpretation of the name *Nemetostatio*; and the suggestion that the 'constructed shrine' referred to was the Neolithic henge complex in the area between North Tawton and Bury Barton,

¹⁷¹ Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.185, 191-3, 196-8.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p.470.

¹⁷³ Ekwall, 1960, p.461; Rivet & Smith, 1979, p.470; Mills, 1998, p.322; Coates & Breeze, 2000, p.366.

¹⁷⁴ Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.424-5. The forms actually given by the Ravenna Cosmographer are *Nemetotacio* and *Nemetotatio*, with the second element apparently being corrupted from an original *statio* in transmission. Given the parallel with the nearby *Derventio*, this solution seems more probable than an original **Nemeto-totatio* or **Nemet(t)otatio* 'sacred grove of Teutatis'.

¹⁷⁵ Griffith, 1985, p.121; Todd, 1999, p.81 & n11. The precise location of *Nemetostatio* is still regarded as an open question, and the discussion that follows must be regarded as potentially applying to either site.

¹⁷⁶ Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.254-5; Griffith, 1985, pp.121-2; Gelling, 1997, p.243. If we discount the graffito *[-]nemēt* on a dish from London, which is presumably the name of the owner, then it is worth noting that the remaining occurrences of **nemeto* from Roman Britain all seem to refer to or imply a constructed shrine, namely *Medionemetum* (apparently referring to a shrine constructed as a victory monument), *Vernemetum* (apparently referring to a constructed shrine or temple), *Mars Rigonemetos* (on a dedication slab, implying a constructed site), and the references to the goddesses *Arnemetia* (in the place-name *Aquae Arnemetiae*, the Roman spa at Buxton, and *Deae Arnomete* on an altar from Derbyshire) and *Nemetona* (on an altar from Bath): see Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.254-5, 416-7, 495.

revealed by aerial photography in the 1980s, certainly seems to be a reasonable one.¹⁷⁷ Yet if these identifications are correct, then the North Tawton site is nearly three miles from the henge while the Bury Barton site is four miles away from it, which suggests that the **nemeto* of the place-name no longer referred solely to the henge itself. The North Tawton site, as we have seen, lies on a river that was already called the Taw during the Roman period, so if *Nemetostatio* was here then it seems probable that the name **nemeto* had become an area-name. On the other hand, the Bury Barton site lies in the same river valley as the henge, so in this instance it is possible that we could be dealing with either a river-name or an area-name. Although we cannot be certain as yet, it therefore seems likely that the **nemeto* of the place-name was being used as a Romano-British area-name or river-name by the late Roman period.

So what can be said about this small handful of names from the Roman period? There are two river-names, *Isca* and *Tabo*, one or both of which may be pre-Celtic in origin; there is one major settlement-name, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, which adopted the river-name without modification but to which was appended the tribal name; and there are two place-names, *Moridunum* and *Nemetostatio*, where a word describing the official nature or function of the site was qualified by a British word, in one case a topographical term describing the location and in the other an apparently existing river- or area-name. What is perhaps most notable about them is that all except for one of them (*Moridunum*) have survived as elements of modern place-names and river-names, and this clearly points to at least some degree of population continuity within the Exeter hinterland area throughout the past sixteen hundred years.

These examples of Romano-British habits of place-name formation are in fairly close accord with the evidence relating to a far larger sample group from the rest of Roman Britain.¹⁷⁸ The vast majority are Celtic or pre-Celtic names, rather than being newly-coined Latin names, and most settlement-names are formed by the adoption of a British topographical term or river-name, with

¹⁷⁷ Griffith, 1985, pp.121, 123 (fig.1), who notes that '... it appears very probable that the henge survived as an earthwork into Iron Age and Roman times'.

¹⁷⁸ The observations made here are based on the results of the analysis in Gelling, 1997, pp.30-62, 242-4.

or without the addition of a suffix. Furthermore, although some names also have an element referring to a functional characteristic of the site, such as ‘fort’, ‘bridge’ or ‘posting station’, there is only one example (*villa Faustin*) from the entire corpus of a word that means ‘farmstead’ or some similar term referring to the habitation-site itself. In other words, there is no recorded occurrence of a Romano-British equivalent to habitative terms such as the *-tūn* and *-cot* suffixes of Old English place-names or the *bod-* and *tre(f)-* prefixes of Primitive and Old Cornish place-names. It seems reasonable to assume that such terms were rarely used for the formation of settlement-names in the Romano-British - and presumably post-Roman British - period, and therefore that evidence of British settlement-name survival in later centuries is most likely to be found in names that refer to topographical features and rivers.

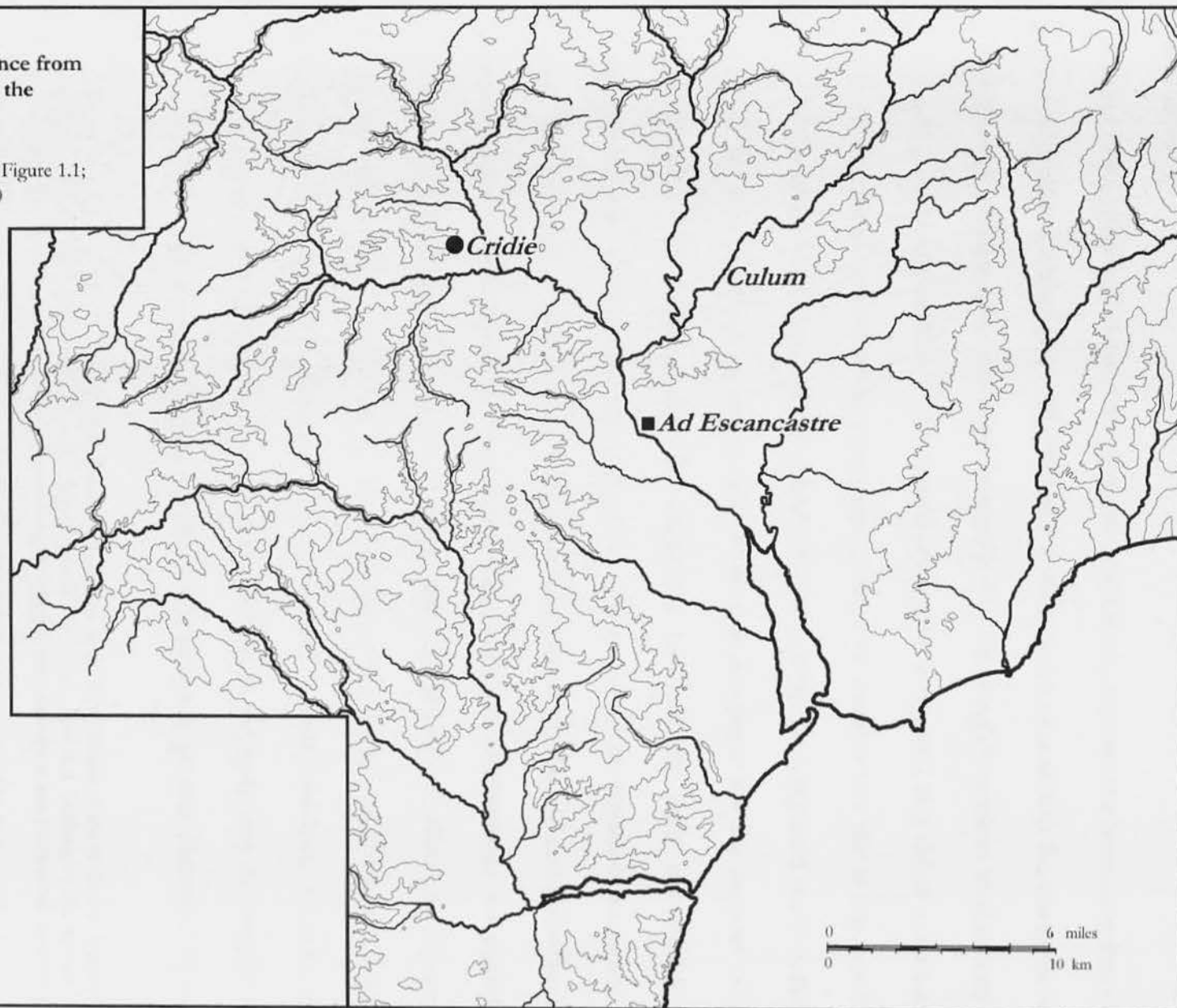
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From this sketchy picture of the place-names of the Roman period, we now pass through three ‘silent centuries’ before we again have surviving evidence of local toponymy, during which interval the references to the kingdom of Dumnonia by Gildas in the sixth century and by Aldhelm in the late seventh century are the only ones that are in any way connected with the Exeter hinterland survey area before it came under direct West Saxon control. However, three place-name examples are preserved from apparently reliable eighth-century contexts (see Fig. 4.7), of which the earliest refers to a grant of land to the bishop of Sherborne for the purpose of founding a minster.¹⁷⁹ In its surviving form the charter is a composite text written in the eleventh century and contains much interpolated material including an anachronistic boundary clause. Nevertheless, it is clear that the writer was working from an authentic charter of king Æthelheard belonging to the late 730s, and there is no reason to suspect its primary content and purpose. The *dispositio* clause refers to land *in loco ubi dicitur Cridie*; and, although it is possible that this clause has

¹⁷⁹ S 255; see chapter 3.2 above (at p.64 & note 2).

Figure 4.7: The place-name evidence from Exeter's hinterland in the eighth century

(Note: scale, rivers and contours as for Figure 1.1; symbols as for Figure 4.10)



been subject to some later re-writing, it seems highly probable that this phrase formed part of the original charter.¹⁸⁰

The name *Cridie*, preserved in the modern river-name Creedy, represents a borrowing into Old English of a Primitive Cornish name **/Cridi/* or **/Cridi/*, and it appears that the contemporary Primitive Cornish pronunciation was being represented by Old English speakers as accurately as their phonetic system would allow.¹⁸¹ The name presumably originated as a British river-name **Crito* or **Cridio*, whose respective meanings can perhaps be translated as ‘the winder’ or ‘the dwindler’;¹⁸² yet within the context of the charter, the name clearly is being used not as a direct reference to the river itself but as one to the whole area designated for the support of the intended minster.¹⁸³ This suggests that the designated land-unit was easily recognisable to contemporaries by its name alone, and it gives the impression of an organised landscape of named settlements and their hinterlands - or of dispersed settlement within defined named areas - that was already well established when the grant of *Cridie* was made. Furthermore, the existence of a land-unit named in this way would be in keeping with what the evidence from the Romano-British period might lead us to expect in Dumnonia, in that a river-name could be adopted as the settlement-name for an adjacent ‘central place’ and its immediate hinterland. It is, of course, also possible that ‘incoming’ Old English speakers had done much the same sort of thing in the relatively recent past; but in the light of the model of the transition process discussed above, it

¹⁸⁰ Edwards, 1988, pp.255-8, who also notes that ‘estates granted in early West Saxon charters do not commonly have place-names of their own, but it cannot be said that this could not occur’, and that ‘nothing in the *dispositio* can definitely be condemned as anachronistic, but it does seem distinctly possible that there has been some re-writing of this clause’.

¹⁸¹ As pretonic reduction did not apparently occur in Primitive Cornish (Jackson, 1953, §§7, 204), the first vowel was almost certainly */i/* (rather than */ɪ/* or */ə/*), which would usually be spelt with *i* rather than *y* or *e* when borrowed into Old English; see also discussion at pp.287-9 above re ‘Dumnonia’ > ‘Devon’. Rather confusingly, however, as a result of lenition, Late British intervocal */t/* became */d/* while intervocal */d/* became */ð/*; but the resultant */d/* and */ð/* sounds were both borrowed into Old English as */d/* (or perhaps sometimes as */t/*) until Old English developed its own */ð/* by the voicing of */p/*, which means that we cannot be certain whether an Old English borrowing as */d/* represents an original Primitive Cornish */d/* or */ð/*: Ekwall, 1928, pp.lxxi-lxxiii; Jackson, 1953, §§131ff, 134.4, 136, 139. For a useful discussion of the principles involved in the oral transmission and pronunciation of Primitive Welsh [and Cornish] place-names by Old English speakers, see Gelling, 1988, pp.62-4 *et passim*.

¹⁸² Ekwall, 1928, pp.103-4 (and followed by Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, p.4; ii, pp.404-5; Mills, 1998, p.102); Breeze *apud* Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.129-30.

¹⁸³ For a similar suggestion, see Reichel, 1923, p.139.

seems more likely that we are dealing with an existing and on-going land-unit with a population that was predominantly 'British' in both origin and language, albeit one that was now under West Saxon political, ecclesiastical and administrative control.

The second eighth-century example of local place-name formation is preserved in the *Life* of St Boniface by the Anglo-Saxon priest Willibald, written in Germany in 754x768 on the basis of the oral accounts of Boniface's disciples, which refers to Boniface's entry into a monastery *quod priscorum nuncupatur vocabulo Ad-Escancastre*.¹⁸⁴ Although the reference is to events in the late seventh century, however, we cannot assume that the place-name form recorded by Willibald is also of that date. Nevertheless, the first element again suggests the accuracy with which an existing name might be heard and represented by Old English speakers in Dumnonia. It appears to have been borrowed either from a Primitive Cornish **/Esc/* < **/Escā/* < */*Īscā/* (giving rise to the Modern Cornish *(Kar)êsk* recorded by Lhuyd in the seventeenth century) or perhaps, if borrowed in the seventh century, from a British learned form */*Īscā/* > **/Ēscā/* (from the Late British pronunciation of Vulgar Latin, which later gave rise to Old Welsh */Uisc/* and appears to be the origin of the Old Welsh *(Cair)unisc* recorded by Asser in the late ninth century).¹⁸⁵ The second element of the name, *castre*, is a word borrowed into Old English from the Latin word *castrum* meaning a 'walled town', and its use in Old English tends to have a closely related meaning.¹⁸⁶ In the present context, therefore, the Old English place-name that gives rise to modern 'Exeter' appears to have originated as a hybrid formed by taking the Primitive Cornish place-name or river-name and adding a generic that described this particular site.

Our third example of a local place-name from the eighth century derives from references to land-units lying slightly to the north of the Exeter hinterland survey area. Three consecutive

¹⁸⁴ *Vita Bonifatii* §1 (this is the preferred reading by Levison, 1905, p.6, who also notes mss. variants *Adescancastre*, *Adescantcastre*, *Adarconcastre*, *Adexanceastre*, *Adexancestre*, *Exancestre*); see also chapter 3.2 above (at p.64).

¹⁸⁵ The derivations suggested here cannot be taken as certain: the problems presented by the development of the names derived from the various rivers called *Isca* have been noted above, and are discussed (with references) by Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.376-8; see also Sims-Williams, 1982, p.92; Dodgson, 1996, p.109.

¹⁸⁶ Gelling, 1997, pp.66, 79, 151-5.

entries in a thirteenth-century copy of an earlier Glastonbury cartulary have been shown to derive from authentic charters dating from about the third quarter of the eighth century.¹⁸⁷ They refer to adjacent grants of land at or near Culmstock; but they also refer, both directly and indirectly, to the river Culm that joins the river Exe just to the north of Exeter. The river-name and the place-name derived from it are given as *Calum* and *Culum* in these sources; the former spelling is unique and may be a scribal error, because most other early spellings show *Cul(u)m(p)*, *Colum(p)* or *Colun(p)*. The name appears to be an Old English borrowing of either a Primitive Cornish word **Culum* or **Colum*, meaning ‘a knot’, or possibly a Primitive Cornish **Colum* or **Colom* that was itself derived from a British borrowing of the Latin word *columba*, meaning ‘dove’.¹⁸⁸ On topographical grounds, a name such as ‘the dove’ might well describe the river in high summer; but anyone who has experienced it in full flood, when its complex network of dormant side-channels refills, might well feel that ‘the knot’ was a more appropriate description. Nevertheless, either derivation is possible, and in this instance we lack sufficient information to know whether we again have an accurate rendering of a Primitive Cornish river-name into Old English. What is notable, however, is the information provided by the names of the two holdings mentioned in the Glastonbury cartulary. One is called *Culum* and again represents the adoption - either by Primitive Cornish speakers or more recently by Old English speakers - of an unmodified Primitive Cornish river-name to form that of an adjacent land-unit. The other is called *Cumbe*, a simplex Old English topographical word for ‘valley’ that must be a relatively recent coining by Old English speakers, and which presumably replaced an earlier pre-English place-name.¹⁸⁹

These three scraps of evidence are all that we have to indicate the type of place-names in use during the lifetimes of the generation that experienced the area’s transition from British to Anglo-

¹⁸⁷ Edwards, 1988, pp.73-4; Abrams, 1996, pp.101-3, 235-41. The entries in question are: [S 1683] *Cynwulf de culum. S.*; [S 1687] *Idem de Cumbe juxta Calum dat. Cuthberto. S.*; [S 1691] *Cuthberto de Culum dat. Sulco, qui dedit Glast.* Note, however, that there is no direct indication of date (although they seem to be arranged chronologically), but the dates of Cynwulf would imply a dating of 757x786 (see Fryde *et al.*, 1986, p.23) for the first two grants.

¹⁸⁸ Ekwall, 1928, pp.109-10 (and followed by Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, p.4); Breeze *apud* Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.133-5. However, none of these authorities cites the putative eighth-century forms noted here.

¹⁸⁹ Although Old English *cumb* usually has a more precise topographical meaning, its usage in Devon suggests that there it had acquired this more generalised meaning ‘valley’: Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.106.

Saxon political control in the early eighth century. It has to be admitted that they do not give us much to go on; and the fact that all of them are Old English place-name forms, preserved through the medium of Anglo-Saxon documents written in Latin, may raise further questions as to the extent to which they are representative. Nevertheless, what little there is points to an organised landscape in which the lands granted to the Church - which were presumably among the most 'desirable' of those available for such grants - tended to be sited along the river valleys, and for which accurately transmitted Primitive Cornish river-names and the place-names derived from them predominated.¹⁹⁰

Such sites are unlikely to have been any less 'desirable' during the period before the West Saxons gained control of the area, and it seems probable that a Primitive Cornish name such as **Cridi* already referred to an existing land-unit, as well as being the name of the river on which it was sited, by the time that the place-name was adopted into Old English. Furthermore, the fact that these names were both accurately transmitted and retained in local usage suggests not only that the local population must have included both Primitive Cornish and Old English speakers at the time of transmission, but also that a significant proportion of that population must have been at least partly bilingual.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, it also seems as though some of these existing Primitive Cornish place-names were beginning to be modified (as in the case of *Escancastre*) or even replaced (as in the case of *Cumbe*) by Old English words that also described the particular site. This certainly implies the presence of sufficient numbers of Old English speakers to affect local toponymy; but what this limited evidence for local place-nomenclature in the eighth century certainly does not provide any support for is the idea that the local British population was effectively driven off or exterminated as a result of West Saxon military conquest.

* * *

¹⁹⁰ See Fig. 1.1 (inset). This begs the question of how such lands had become available for granting to the Church, and there is a similar question with regard to how the holdings noted in king Alfred's will (discussed below) came to be in royal possession; a possible context will be suggested, albeit briefly, in the conclusion to the present chapter.

¹⁹¹ Cameron, 1996, pp.31-2.

When we turn to consider the place-name evidence from the ninth century, it is necessary to point out that all of the examples come from the last quarter of the century and were therefore recorded at least one hundred years after the latest eighth-century example considered above. That represents approximately three more generations during which acculturation and similar processes could occur. Yet in the light of the linguistic development of Old English *Defna(s)* and *Defena(scire)* from Primitive Cornish **Defnen*, together with William of Malmesbury's reference to an identifiably 'Cornish' population in Exeter in the early tenth century, perhaps we should not be too hasty to presume that the entire population of the Exeter hinterland area can now safely be regarded as 'Anglo-Saxon' in both language and culture, whatever their actual genetic origins.

Four of our five place-name examples from the ninth century come from the text of king Alfred's will (see Fig. 4.8).¹⁹² The earliest surviving copy dates from the first part of the eleventh century, so it is possible that there may have been some revisions or interpolations to the original text by that time; but on the whole the document appears to be trustworthy, and we can use the place-name forms that it provides without too much hesitation. The places mentioned in Alfred's will were obviously then in royal possession, so it is likely that many of them were *villae regales* with a local administrative function as well as being the centres of royal estates.¹⁹³ In addition, and for similar reasons to those suggested with respect to the lands granted to the Church during the eighth century, some of these royal holdings may reflect pre-English patterns of landscape organisation, although the potential for considerable reorganisation during the intervening century or more means that the suggestion would require further evidence in any particular case. Nevertheless, it is notable that Alfred's will also included *Triconscire* in Cornwall, the possible successor to the Dumnonian *pagus Tricurius* mentioned in the *Life* of St Samson.¹⁹⁴

Two of the place-names, *Columtune* and *Exan Mynster*, are of the type that we saw beginning to appear, or at least to be recorded, in the previous century. That is to say, they are both formed by

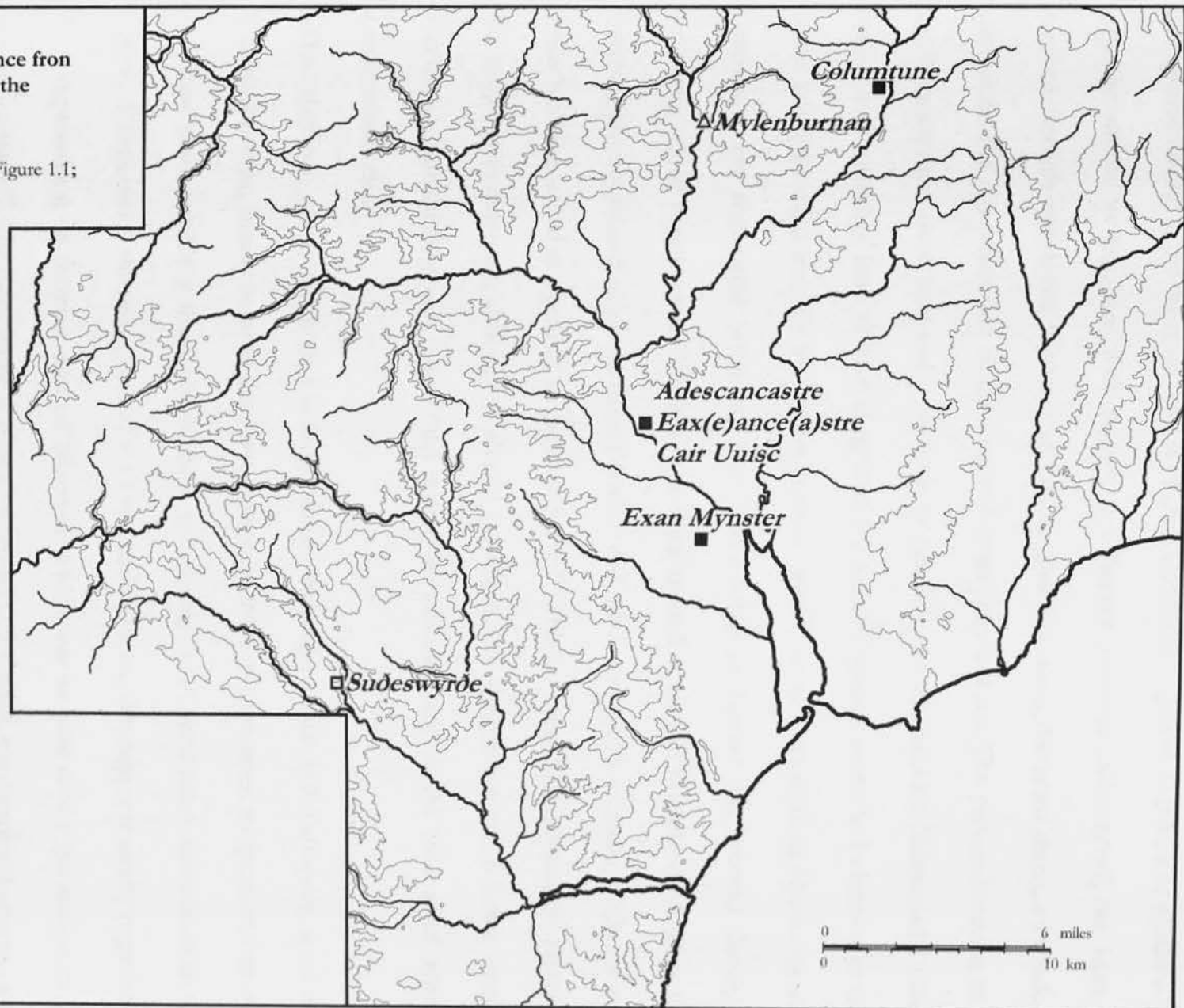
¹⁹² S 1507.

¹⁹³ Sawyer, 1983, pp.275-6, 293; *idem*, 1998, pp.181, 199-200; Yorke, 1995, pp.76, 124-5.

¹⁹⁴ See discussion in section 4.1 above (at pp.254-5), and also Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.175, 317 n18.

Figure 4.8: The place-name evidence from Exeter's hinterland in the ninth century

(Note: scale, rivers and contours as for Figure 1.1;
symbols as for Figure 4.10)



taking the Primitive Cornish river-name - or perhaps the name of an existing land-unit that was itself named directly from the river - and adding an Old English generic that further identified the particular site or its function. With regard to *Columtune* (modern Cullompton), we have the Primitive Cornish river-name **Colum* or its Old English equivalent, discussed above, to which has been added the important Old English name-forming element *tūn*. The precise meaning of *tūn* may have changed over time and is difficult to quantify and to translate: 'farmstead', 'village', 'manor' and 'township' have all been suggested, but present opinion seems to be leaning towards 'estate' being the most accurate translation in most cases.¹⁹⁵ In the case of *Exan Mynster* (modern Exminster), the river-name borrowed into Old English as *Esc(an)* has become *Ex(an)* by metathesis, which suggests that the name was being treated as an Old English word rather than displaying any continuing influence from Primitive or Old Cornish pronunciation, while the word *mynster* has been added as a generic to the river-name.¹⁹⁶ This is a pretty self-explanatory reference to a religious community, although it should be noted that the place-name is being used to describe a particular land-unit rather than simply the minster itself, as the context of Alfred's bequest makes clear.

The other two places mentioned in king Alfred's will, *Mylenburnan* and *Suðesnyrðe*, are a little more problematic, mainly because the identification of them remains open to question, but what is perhaps most notable is that both of them are entirely 'new' place-name formations in Old English. *Mylenburnan* is the less secure of the two identifications, although it is usually regarded as either representing or forming part of Silverton, which was an extensive royal manor in the eleventh century.¹⁹⁷ The place-name is formed from an Old English topographical generic *burna*, meaning a stream (and usually a fairly clear one), to which a qualifying prefix referring to a mill

¹⁹⁵ Cameron, 1996, pp.143ff; but cf. Bassett, 2000b, p.24 n10.

¹⁹⁶ Ekwall, 1928, pp.154-5. The chronological distinction between Primitive Cornish and Old Cornish is based on the appearance of surviving written material rather than any major linguistic development: see Jackson, 1953, pp.5-6.

¹⁹⁷ e.g. Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.175, 320 n53; Hooke, 1994, pp.103-4; cf. section 3.4 above (at p.179).

has been added.¹⁹⁸ Since the water-mill became common in England only during the eighth or ninth century the presence of such a relative novelty would have been an obvious identifier for the land-unit with which it was associated, and it seems reasonable to assume that this Old English place-name had replaced some earlier name now lost to us. If the suggested identification of this place is correct, then it is also possible that the new name may not have lasted long in popular usage, because when we next hear of this place, in Domesday Book some two hundred years later, it is known simply as *Burn*.¹⁹⁹

The identification of the second of the entirely Old English place-name formations, *Suðeswyrðe*, seems to be rather more secure, because a holding called *Sutreworde* is recorded in Domesday Book and probably refers to what is now Lustleigh, on the river Bovey.²⁰⁰ The earlier place-name comprises a habitative generic *worth*, the usual meaning of which is ‘enclosed settlement’, to which the directional qualifier ‘south(ern)’ has been prefixed.²⁰¹ This clearly implies that the place-name was formed by reference to some unknown place further to the north;²⁰² and as no other major-names that also end in *-worth* are known from this area, it seems likely that the coining of *Suðeswyrðe* reflects its contemporary status as a secondary site, in terms of either local agricultural organisation or the administration of a larger area. As with *Mylenburnan*, this place-name has not survived, and by the early thirteenth century it appears to have been replaced by the place-name *Lenestelegb*, meaning ‘pasture (or meadow) of a man called **Lēofgiest*’, which gives rise to modern Lustleigh.²⁰³ It is also worth noting that if *Suðeswyrðe* has been correctly identified, then this late ninth-century royal estate may have been closely related to that of a British predecessor, because stored within Lustleigh church is an inscribed stone that is unlikely to pre-date the eighth century

¹⁹⁸ Gelling, 1984, pp.16-20; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.9-12.

¹⁹⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 47,9.

²⁰⁰ Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.175, 320 n55; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 23,15.

²⁰¹ Smith, 1956, ii, pp.273-7; Cameron, 1996, pp.150-2.

²⁰² Swanton & Pearce, 1982, p.140, suggest that this was North Bovey, although Moretonhampstead is also possible.

²⁰³ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.480; Mills, 1998, p.228 *s.n.* Lustleigh; and see Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.237ff, for the later meaning of *lēah* as ‘pasture, meadow’ rather than ‘wood, clearing’.

but which seems to belong to the tradition of Dumnonian élite commemorative monuments, while the churchyard itself may have originated as an early Christian enclosed graveyard.²⁰⁴

Finally, there are several late ninth-century references to Exeter. Three of these come from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, two of which preserve the earlier form *Escan ceaster* and the third of which, *Exance(a)ster* (a form also known from contemporary coinage), shows the same metathesis that was noted in *Exan Mynster*, although the use of both forms suggests that this latter development had not yet fully been adopted into local speech.²⁰⁵ Perhaps more intriguing, however, are the references to Exeter by the Welsh ecclesiast Asser in his *Life* of king Alfred. As well as the Old English forms *Eaxeancestre* and *Exanceastre*, he provides a translation of the name not only in semi-scholarly Latin, as *civitas Exae*, but also in Old Welsh as *Cair Unisc*, presumably for the benefit of his Welsh readers.²⁰⁶ Asser clearly knew Exeter, albeit as an outsider, because Alfred had granted him the minster there together with its *parochia* in Wessex and Cornwall,²⁰⁷ so the fact that Asser gives Old English, Latin and Old Welsh forms but not the (implied) Old Cornish precursor of the Modern Cornish form *Karêsk* suggests either that he was not aware of it or that he did not deem it of interest to his intended audience. In either case, however, this cannot be taken as a further indication that Old Cornish no longer survived as a spoken language in the Exeter area by the late ninth century, and certainly cannot on its own be used to refute the tradition recorded by William of Malmesbury and noted above.

Taken together, the place-name evidence from the late ninth century, although still very limited in both its range and quantity, suggests that the Primitive Cornish place-names within the Exeter hinterland area were being modified or replaced by new formations developed by Old English speakers and (despite the note of caution expressed above) that Old Cornish speakers, if present, were not exerting a significant influence on local pronunciation. Apart from natural linguistic

²⁰⁴ Swanton & Pearce, 1982; Okasha, 1993, pp.165-70 (29 Lustleigh); and see section 4.2 above (at p.285).

²⁰⁵ *ASCA s.a.* 876, 877 [var. *Escanceastre*], 894 (all of which refer to Scandinavian attacks on the town).

²⁰⁶ Asser, *Vita Alfredi*, §49; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, pp.20-1; Stevenson, 1959, pp.37-8, 68; Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.83, 97; see also Jackson, 1953, p.11 n2.

²⁰⁷ Keynes & Lapidge, 1983, pp.97, 264-5 n193; Conner, 1993, p.23 n8; Insley, 1998, p.175 n12; see chapter 3.2 (at p.65).

developments in Old English such as the metathesis of *Esc(an)* to *Ex(an)*, these changes in place-nomenclature appear to be related to the contemporary function of a place in terms of estate management and administration (*Suðeswyrðe*, and perhaps *Columtune*) or a readily identifiable feature associated with it (*Exan Mynster*, *Mylenburnan*). The fact that the Old English place-names *Suðeswyrðe* and *Mylenburnan* were themselves replaced by new place-names in subsequent centuries emphasises that these kinds of changes and instability in place-nomenclature were by no means confined to the period in which Old English replaced Primitive Cornish in local speech.

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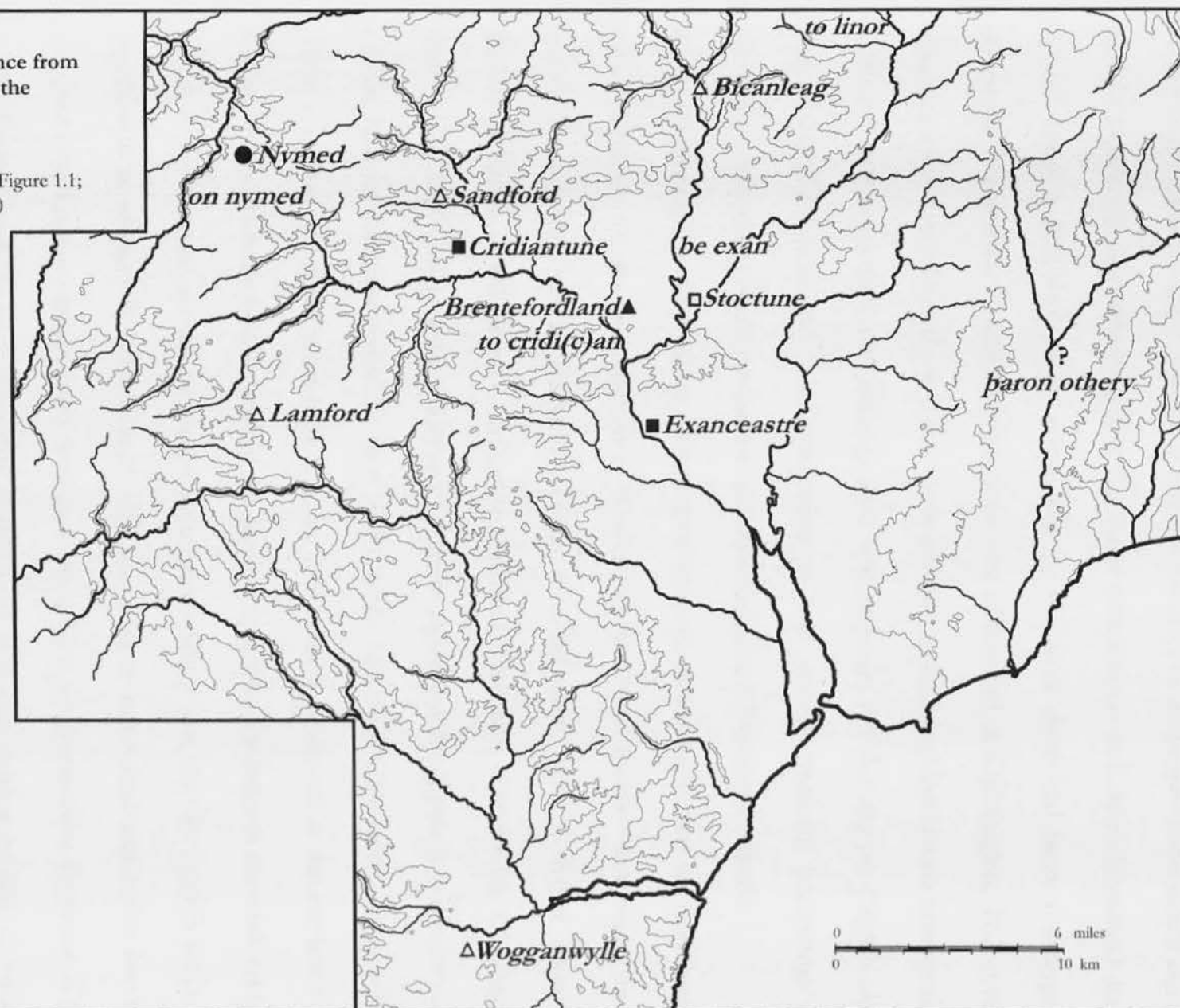
The place-name evidence for the tenth century is both greater in quantity and more evenly spread throughout the century than that for the ninth, mainly because there are more surviving charters, including several with apparently contemporary boundary clauses. However, a significant proportion of the charters claiming to have a tenth-century provenance are in fact later copies and forgeries with more relevance to the place-name forms of the eleventh century than to those of the tenth.²⁰⁸ If we are fairly ruthless with our acceptance or rejection of material, then we are left with possible references to nine or ten major names and five river-names preserved from probable tenth-century contexts (see Fig. 4.9). Of the river-names, those of the Exe, the Creedy, the Lynor and the *Nymed* (now the Yeo) are all derived from pre-English names while the Otter has an Old English name.²⁰⁹ This latter name presumably had replaced an earlier river-name; and that this continued to happen in later centuries is emphasised by the fact that *Nymed* has not survived as a modern river-name even though it is preserved in several modern place-names. Although it is not my intention to deal with minor names here, it is also important to note that

²⁰⁸ This provisional assessment may require some revision when Dr Charles Insley completes his forthcoming edition of the Exeter charters.

²⁰⁹ S 498 (*be exan, to cridican*); S 653 (*to lnor*); S 721 (*þaron oþery, var. oþerz*); S 795 (*on nymed*); S 890 (*oð cryðian*). The derivations for most of these names are discussed either above or below in the present section; but for Lynor see Ekwall, 1928, pp.275-6. Although the distinction between a river-name and a stream-name is a debatable one, I have followed Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.2, on this point; for example, the Knighty Brook is referred to in tenth- and eleventh-century sources as either *scipbroc* or *riscbroc* (on which see chapter 3.2 above, at p.87 note 89 and pp.90-1 note 99), and the OE generic *brōc* has here been taken to indicate that these are stream-names.

Figure 4.9: The place-name evidence from Exeter's hinterland in the tenth century

(Note: scale, rivers and contours as for Figure 1.1; symbols as for Figure 4.10)



the great majority of the streams and the other points mentioned in the various boundary clauses have Old English names, many of which survive in the modern landscape. These would seem to constitute a fairly representative sample of the minor names in use in Exeter's hinterland during the tenth century, and they clearly imply that by this time there had been a widespread replacement of Primitive Cornish toponyms by new formations in Old English. The obvious conclusions to be drawn from these observations are that the local population were now speaking Old English as their primary and probably their only language, and that any pre-English place-names or elements preserved in contemporary or later records represent borrowings and survivals from an earlier period that had not yet been replaced, for whatever reasons.

Some of the major names exhibit further developments of the types that we have seen in previous centuries. In the first element of Exeter the metathetic *Eaxan~* and *Exan~* forms predominate and there are no further examples of *(Ad)Escan~*, while a charter issued by Æthelstan at Exeter in 928 shows a further development, *Execestre*, in which the Old English inflexional *-an-* has become *-e-* by reduction.²¹⁰ A more significant development is that recorded for *Cridie*, because the usual vernacular form in the tenth century is *Cridiantun(e)*, with a solitary example *Crydiatun*, and all of them have the *-tūn* suffix that is preserved in the modern form Crediton.²¹¹ The result is a hybrid name of the type evidenced by *Columtune* in the ninth century, although in this instance we can be somewhat more confident that the Old English suffix has been added to an adopted Primitive Cornish place-name for an earlier land-unit, rather than that an adopted river-name is perhaps being used as the base for a new place-name formation in Old English. Another example of a *-tūn* suffix is preserved in a lease relating to land *æt Stoctune*, although the suffix seems to have passed out of use by the late eleventh century and only the first

²¹⁰ For the forms, see Ekwall, 1928, p.153 *s.n.* Exe; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, i, pp.20-1; Dodgson, 1996, p.109; two further examples of *Exanceastre* are given in Conner, 1993, pp.168-9, texts I & II. For *Execestre*, see S 399; but note that the two examples of the similar form *Exaceaster*, cited as tenth-century forms by Ekwall, 1928, and Gover *et al.*, 1931-2 (from Birch, 1885-99, nos.722 [=S 433] & 723 [=S 389] respectively), are in fact from eleventh-century forgeries: see Chaplais, 1966, pp.5-7, nos.3-4.

²¹¹ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, pp.404-5.

element survives in the modern name of Stoke Canon, located on the river Culm just before its confluence with the Exe.²¹² The early meanings of the Old English word *stoc* seem to have been ‘secondary settlement, component part of a large estate’, but its later meanings are very imprecise and often can be translated only as ‘place’, although there is evidence to suggest that in some cases it referred to ecclesiastical ownership.²¹³ In any event, the place-name *Stoctune* would appear to be of the same type as the *Suðeswyrðe* noted in the ninth century, in that its Old English name was related to the land-unit’s role in local estate management or administration.

Nevertheless, these processes of modification and replacement certainly had not yet removed all traces of Primitive Cornish or even earlier place-nomenclature from the landscape. An original charter of 974 records a grant by king Edgar to his *minister* Ælfhere of three hides *in loco qui uulgarī appellatione nuncupatur Nymed*.²¹⁴ The name *Nymed* must have passed into Old English from a Primitive Cornish **/neɲed/* or **/nīɲed/* before */μ/* had denasalised to the extent that it could be heard as */v/* by Old English speakers; and, despite some uncertainty regarding the first vowel, it again appears to be an accurate rendering of the Primitive Cornish pronunciation.²¹⁵ The charter boundary clause includes most if not all of Down St Mary parish and part of the western boundary proceeds *on nymed*, which is clearly a reference to what is now the river Yeo.²¹⁶

²¹² S 1452. Although the identity is confirmed by the endorsement *Stoctune* on an eleventh-century forged charter that certainly refers to Stoke Canon [S 389], it is possible that the lease is also of eleventh-century date rather than the c.980x990 date that has usually been suggested (see chapter 3.2 above, at p.72 note 31). Note also that the early forms given by Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.447, are incomplete and in need of revision.

²¹³ Smith, 1956, ii, pp.153-6; Ekwall, 1960, p.443; and see also the note relating to the place-name Stokeinteighhead in chapter 3.3 above (at p.178 note 368).

²¹⁴ S 795; Chaplais 1966, pp.14-5 no.15; see also chapter 3.2 above (at p.87 & note 89).

²¹⁵ For the philological processes involved, see Jackson, 1953, §§6-7, 98, 136, 204-5; but cf. the comments on pretonic reduction in the discussion of the development of ‘Dumnonia’ > ‘Devon’ in section 4.2 above. As a result of the lenition of British */m/* > */μ/* and */t/* > */d/*, British **nemeto* became Primitive Welsh **/nīɲed/* and eventually (by pretonic reduction of */i/* > */ə/*) > Middle Welsh *nyfet*. The development in Primitive Cornish was very similar, but the evidence is ambiguous with regard to the corresponding development of the British pretonic */e/* vowel before single nasal in Primitive Cornish. For example, modern Lanivet (in Cornwall, and also derived from British **nemeto*) has Old Cornish forms *Lannived*, *Lanivet*, *Lannyvet*, *Lannevet* [Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.348 n1], which could indicate confusion in the spelling of an original */i/*, */e/* or */ə/*. By contrast, British **Cunosenacos* > Primitive Cornish *Conhino* [c(i)] on the Lustleigh stone [Okasha, 1993, 29 Lustleigh], seems to show */e/* > */i/* rather than */e/*; while British **Lemanā* > Old English *Lymen* [S 1547; Ekwall, 1928, pp.243-5] could represent either a sound-substitution for Primitive Cornish **/Leɲen/* or an accurate rendering of Primitive Cornish **/Liɲen/* or even **/Ləɲen/*.

²¹⁶ Ekwall, 1928, pp.304-5; Hooke, 1994, pp.172-5; see also chapter 3.2.1 above (at pp.103-4).

In this dual reference to *Nymed* we appear to have another example of a land-unit taking its name from an adjacent river. It also lies within a larger area that included nine holdings called *Nimet* or *Limet(e)* in Domesday, only one of which - the modern Woolfin - lay in Down St Mary parish; this did not constitute the largest Domesday holding within the parish and was not even sited beside the river Yeo but on one of its tributaries, the Knighty Brook.²¹⁷ On this evidence, it would appear either that a number of different land-units were independently identified by reference to the adjacent or nearby Primitive Cornish river-name, or that a larger land-unit named in a similar way had subsequently fragmented and that its place-name was retained by several of its former component parts. Whether this putative transfer of name from river to land-unit(s) was the result of place-name formation by Old English or by Primitive Cornish speakers is not immediately apparent until we recall the earlier discussion regarding the late Roman site of *Nemetostatio*, because the henge that may have been the original referent for the **nemeto* of the Romano-British place-name was located in the valley of the river called *Nymed* in the charter. Although we cannot be sure whether a British river-name derived from the **nemeto* had become the name for the surrounding area or whether a similarly derived British area-name became the name for the main river within it, what does seem fairly certain is that this was not a recent toponymic development by Old English speakers. In fact, it seems highly probable that when the name recorded as *Nymed* in the tenth century originally passed into Old English it was already both a Primitive Cornish river-name and the place-name of an existing Dumnonian land-unit.

A slightly more complex linguistic problem is presented by an apparently genuine charter, albeit surviving only in two fourteenth-century copies, which records the sale by king Edmund to ealdorman Æthelstan in 944 of two hides representing *aliquam partem terre ... illic ubi vulgus prisca relatione uocitat. of Brentefordland* (with variants *Brenteforlond* in MS.1 and *Brente(s)forlong* in MS.2)

²¹⁷ Gover *et al.* 1931-2, ii, pp.348, 368; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 24,28 (for Woolfin; for other Domesday estates called *Nimet* or *Limet(e)*, see Appendix II, below); Hooke, 1994, p.175.

beside the confluence of the rivers Exe and Creedy.²¹⁸ The name survives in modern Brampford Speke, which was recorded as *Branfortune* in Domesday Book, but the charter boundary defines a land-unit that corresponds closely to the adjacent parish of Upton Pyne, within which a further three Domesday holdings called *Brenford* or *Branford* can be located.²¹⁹ Apart from the early *~for(d)land*, *~forlong* and *~fortune* forms noted above, which will be considered shortly, the second element is consistently Old English *~ford* in subsequent records and clearly refers to a crossing point on either the Exe or - perhaps more likely, given the inclusion of part of Cowley within the *Brentefordland* land-unit - the Creedy. For the first element, spellings with *Bre-* occur in the charter copies and two of the Domesday entries, after which all forms have *-a-* until this begins to alternate with *-au-* during the thirteenth century; and while the *-nte(s)-* of the charter forms are echoed by three spellings with *-nt-* or *-nc-* in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the usual spelling is simply *-n-*, alternating with *-m-* from the late twelfth century and with *-mp-* first occurring in the late thirteenth century.²²⁰ Nevertheless, the early spellings do not support a derivation from Old English *bræmel* 'bramble' or *brōm* 'broom' (although these may have influenced the later development of the place-name), nor is the solitary occurrence of genitival *-es* sufficient to suggest an Old English personal-name such as **Brant*, and it seems more probable that the original form of the first element was *Brent(e)*.²²¹

If so, then the sequence of philological processes established by Jackson can again be used to reconstruct a suggested development from British **/Brīgantjā/* to Primitive Cornish **/Briyent/* that would become **/Bri|ent/* in the eighth century and, by contraction, result in a Primitive Cornish **/Brent/* that passed into Old English as a weak feminine noun with nominative

²¹⁸ S 498; Rose-Troup, 1938, pp.254-5, 271-2; Hooke, 1994, pp.147-51; Abrams, 1996, pp.72-3.

²¹⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 3,67; 16,123; 16,129; 24,2; see chapter 3.2.1 above (at pp.118-20).

²²⁰ Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, pp.422-3, but the forms given there are incomplete; cf. S 498; Hingeston-Randolph, 1889, pp.3-4, 35, 118, 455; Reichel *et al*, 1939, p.240 no.1180; Barlow, 1996a, p.35 no.34; Robinson, 1999, pp.37 no.772, 117 no.1256.

²²¹ Ekwall, 1960, p.60 *s.n.* Brampford Speke; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.77; *contra* Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.423; Orme, 1989, p.55; Cameron, 1996, p.175; Mills, 1998, p.50 *s.n.* Brampford Speke.

Brente.²²² The British word **brigantia* means literally ‘the high one’, with possible connotations of lordship or divinity as well as height, and as the modern name Brent it is evidenced as a river-name in Middlesex and probably as a hill-name in Somerset and elsewhere in Devon.²²³ The situation of Upton Pyne between two rivers with surviving pre-English names renders a river-name unlikely, so Primitive Cornish **Brent* probably referred to the hill at the confluence of the Exe and the Creedy, on which the modern village of Upton Pyne stands. Furthermore, the reference to the grant of 944 comprising *aliquam partem terre ... of Brentefordland* suggests that it formed part of a larger land-unit, presumably one that had included the *Branfortune* of Domesday, and it seems reasonable to assume that Old English *land* was being used here in its sense of ‘estate, district’, in which sense it was sometimes interchangeable with Old English *tūn*.²²⁴ In this instance, however, we seem to have no way of determining whether Primitive Cornish **Brent* was originally adopted by Old English speakers as the place-name of an existing land-unit or solely as a hill-name. Nevertheless, it appears to provide further evidence of linguistic exchange between Primitive Cornish and Old English speakers in the Exeter area continuing well into the eighth century, and that in itself would seem to increase the likelihood of continuity rather than discontinuity in local patterns of landscape organisation.

²²² On the philological basis for these developments, see Jackson, 1953, §§7, 73-4, 76-7, 82, 89, 165-7, 177-82, 210, but note that /j/ is used here to represent Jackson’s semi-vowel *i* with subscript cup, and that /ɣ/ is used for his spirant *g* (on both of which substitutions see Coates & Breeze, 2000, p.xi). The suggested development would be from British **Brigantjā* > **Brīyantjā* (by lenition of /g/ > /ɣ/), then > **Brīyentjā* (because of the vowel affection of /a/ > /ē/ by final /i/), then > **Brīyentjā* or **Brēyentjā* (because of the development of /ī/ > /i/ or /ē/ in Primitive Cornish and Breton), and finally > **Brīyent’* or **Brēyent’* (through the loss of final syllables), giving a Primitive Cornish form **Brīyent/* or **Brēyent/* by the end of the sixth century. We do not know exactly when this would become **Brīlent/* or **Brēlent/* (through the loss of intervocal /ɣ/) in Primitive Cornish, but parallel developments appear in the eighth century in Primitive or Old Welsh and before the ninth century in Primitive Breton (see Jackson, 1953, §89.4). Through contraction, this would give a Primitive Cornish **Brēnt/* that would tend to pass into Old English as *Brent*, in which language it was probably treated as a weak feminine noun with nominative *Brente*. For a probable parallel see British **brigantinos* > Cornish *brentyn*, *bryntyn*. Jackson, 1953, p.447. [However, if the form *Brente* recorded by S 238 for Brent Knoll in Somerset (see Abrams, 1996, pp.69-72) could be shown to preserve a contemporary spelling of 693, then the beginnings of this development might be pushed back into the late seventh century (although it is not known whether the Neo-Brittonic language of Somerset was more closely related to Primitive Welsh or to Primitive Cornish).]

²²³ Ekwall, 1928, pp.51-2; *idem*, 1960, p.63 (*contra* Gover *et al*, 1931-2, i, pp.213, 290); Rivet & Smith, 1979, pp.278-9; Mills, 1998, p.53.

²²⁴ For the use of Old English *land*, and the interchange with *tūn* in some cases, see Coates, 1999, p.10; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.279-81. The argument presented here would leave the *Brente(s)forlong* forms of S 498 (MS.2) unexplained unless through later scribal error or confusion with *ferling* or *furlong*.

The remaining four or five examples of local major names preserved from tenth-century contexts appear to be entirely Old English formations, and can be dealt with fairly briefly. Firstly, the boundary clause of *Hypeles eald land* refers to *lamford*, which is derived from either *lamb-ford* 'lamb ford' or *lām-ford* 'loam ford' and may be the referent that gave rise to the Domesday place-name *Lanford* (now Lambert in Cheriton Bishop), but the identification is not certain.²²⁵ Secondly, two hides *ubi runiculi Sandford uocitant* were the subject of a grant that appears to define an area corresponding to the south-eastern part of Sandford parish, and here the referent of the place-name seems to be a ford on a tributary of the Creedy.²²⁶ Thirdly, a royal 'hunting lodge' (*venatoria villa*) called *Bicanleag* was the location for a meeting of a royal council in 904 and may be represented by modern Bickleigh, near the confluence of the river Dart and the Exe, although the referent is unclear.²²⁷ The generic is *lēah*, for which either the early meanings 'wood, woodland clearing' or the later senses 'pasture, meadow' might apply to a river valley with pasture and woodland on the slopes, while the frequency with which Bickleigh and Bickley occur as place-names suggests that the Old English personal name *Bic(c)a* is unlikely to be the qualifier in all of them; the most probable alternative is the Old English word **bica* 'projection, point', but in what sense is uncertain and other derivations are also possible.²²⁸ Nevertheless, the original *lēah* of *Bicanleag* presumably would have been an important resource just as the *ford* of *Lanford* and that of *Sandford* were probably important in terms of local communication or livestock management, and it is not difficult to see why each of these landscape features would be considered as an appropriate identifier for either the land-unit associated with them or its main settlement-focus,

²²⁵ S 830; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.428; Smith, 1956, ii, p.13; Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 43,4; 52,12; Hooke, 1994, pp.176-80; see also chapter 3.2.1 above (at p.127 & note 204). Treable (on which see section 4.2 above, at p.286) was not mentioned in Domesday and did not become an ecclesiastical parish, so *Hypeles eald land* falls outside the defined limits of the present discussion.

²²⁶ S 890; Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.411; Hooke, 1994, pp.181-4; Insley, 1998, pp.189-90; chapter 3.2 above (at p.84).

²²⁷ S 372; S 373; S 374; S 1286; Finberg, 1953, p.16; Ekwall, 1960, p.41 *s.n.* Bickleigh; Sawyer, 1983, p.287; Wormald, 1999a, p.432 table 6.2. Note that it is not certain that *Bicanleag* refers to this Bickleigh in Devon.

²²⁸ Gover *et al.*, 1931-2, ii, p.554; Smith, 1956, i, pp.33-5; ii, pp.18-22; Ekwall, 1960, p.41 *s.n.* Bickleigh; Gelling, 1984, pp.198-207; Mills, 1998, p.36 *s.n.* Bickleigh, Bickley; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.109 *s.n.* Bickham, 237-42.

even though the uncertainties regarding the identifications and the qualifiers for two of these three place-names preclude further discussion about the process of their formation.

Slightly different in this respect is the *woggan nylle* noted in another boundary clause, whose generic *nylle* or *welle* means ‘spring’ but can have a secondary sense of ‘stream’, and the qualifier of which appears to be an otherwise unrecorded Old English personal name **Wogga* or **Wocga*.²²⁹ The referent can be identified from the charter bounds as a spring that gives rise to a stream that forms part of the eastern boundary of East Ogwell parish; yet a reference in an eleventh-century boundary clause refers to a different *woggawill lacu*, and in this case the referent is a stream that forms the western boundary of East and West Ogwell parishes.²³⁰ The modern place-name Ogwell is clearly related to that of the spring and the stream noted in the charter boundaries; and the fact that four of the five Domesday holdings that can be located within these two parishes were also called ‘Ogwell’ in 1086 strongly suggests that it was also the name of a land-unit that had already fragmented by the late eleventh century.²³¹

The most obvious solution, although by no means the only one possible, is that the spring was the original referent for the name *woggan nylle* and that this became the identifier for the land-unit with which it was associated. It appears as though this place-name was adopted subsequently as that for a stream on another boundary of the same land-unit and was also retained by many of the component holdings into which the land-unit eventually fragmented - a process of place-name formation, transference and adoption that suggests parallels to what seems to have happened in an earlier period with respect to *Nymed*, considered above. What this hypothetical process does not explain is how the original referent came to be identified or associated with a man called **Wogga* in the first place (assuming that this is indeed an Old English personal name),

²²⁹ S 601; Ekwall, 1928, pp.307-8; *idem*, 1960, p.349; Gover *et al*, 1931-2, ii, p.461; O'Donovan, 1988, pp.61-4 no.18; Mills, 1998, p.260; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.31ff. However, note that the *Woggahangre* recorded in a late twelfth-century charter (Weaver, 1909, p.146 no.258, p.199) may have the same first element.

²³⁰ S 1547; Hooke, 1994, pp.152-5, 217-24.

²³¹ Thom & Thom, 1985, DB 34,27-8 (both called *Ogewille*); 48,5-6 (*Wogwel*, *Holebeme*); 52,14 (*Wogenville*); and see also discussion in chapter 3.3 above (at pp.164-6).

but it seems reasonable to assume that he had been the holder of the associated land-unit at or before the time that the name *woggan wyllle* was first recorded in 956.²³² If so, then there appears to be a distinct possibility that ‘Ogwell’ replaced an earlier Old English or Primitive Cornish place-name for a land-unit that was already in existence before **Wogga* came to be associated with it.

Finally, what may be an authentic charter that records a grant of two hides *ubi uocari uocabulo dicitur Othery* [sic] has been preserved in two fourteenth-century copies.²³³ The identification is problematic because although the boundary clause refers to the river Otter (*paron othery*) and may define an area corresponding to the central eastern part of Ottery St Mary parish, it is possible that these bounds have been attached to a charter that originally referred to Othery in Somerset, the place-name of which means ‘the other island’ rather than being derived from a river-name Otter.²³⁴ What is notable, however, is that the Devon river-name is an Old English formation, the form *othery* or *otheri* given in the boundary clause being derived from *oter* ‘otter’ and *-īe*, the dative of *ēa* ‘river’.²³⁵ Although the confusion between Ottery and Othery means that we do not know whether the two hides at *Othery* were identified by reference to an island or an adjacent river, Ottery St Mary and several other places certainly had place-names derived from that of the Otter by the time that these were first recorded in the second half of the eleventh century, and it provides a valuable reminder that Old English speakers might also adopt an unmodified river-name to serve as a place-name.²³⁶ This parallel in local habits of place-name formation by both Old English and Primitive Cornish speakers presents us with a problem of interpretation if the river-name in question is of pre-English origin and for which, unlike *Cridie*, *Culum* or *Nymed*, no early documentary material has survived. The extent of this problem becomes apparent and will

²³² See Gelling, 1997, pp.185-8, for discussion of a number of probable parallels.

²³³ S 721.

²³⁴ Ekwall, 1960, p.352; Hooke, 1994, pp.168-72; Abrams 1996, pp.189-91, 219 n22; Mills, 1998, p.263; see also discussion of Ottery St Mary in chapter 3.5 above (at pp.232-3 & note 563).

²³⁵ Ekwall, 1928, pp.312-3.

²³⁶ S 1033; and see Appendix II below.

be addressed - although not necessarily resolved - when the toponymic evidence preserved in Domesday Book is considered shortly.

* * *

The larger sample provided by the tenth-century evidence by contrast to that of earlier centuries enables us to offer some general observations on the patterns and developments in local place-nomenclature. Five of the ten possible major names recorded from the tenth century incorporate Old English generics that relate to topographical features (*Bicanleag*, *Brentefordland*, *Lamford*, *Sandford* and *Wogganwyllle*) and three incorporate Old English habitative generics (*Exanceastre*, *Cridiantun* and *Stoctune*), two of which also feature among the three or four names derived, either directly or indirectly, from river-names (*Exanceastre*, *Cridiantun*, *Nymed* and perhaps *Othery*). Most of these refer to landscape features or resources that were likely to have an important influence on patterns of landscape organisation in any period, but names such as *Wogganwyllle* and possibly *Bicanleag* show that the names of individual land-holders could also feature in local toponymy, while the continued importance of hierarchical relationships between land-units appears to underlie the name *Stoctune*. It is also apparent that local place-nomenclature was by no means immutable as yet, because *Stoctune* and *Brentefordland* have both lost their final element in their modern forms, while *Nymed* has survived only in modern place-names rather than as a river-name. Four of the ten major names (*Exanceastre*, *Cridiantun*, *Nymed* and *Brentefordland*) incorporate elements derived from pre-English toponymy, which represents a significant but slightly smaller proportion of the corpus than the three out of five names recorded from the late ninth century (*Columtune*, *Exanmynster*, *Exanceatre*), but the predominance of Old English names among both the major names and the boundary points noted in surviving tenth-century charters emphasises the widespread and ongoing replacement of earlier toponyms by new formations in Old English. Nevertheless, a name such as *Brentefordland* can preserve linguistic features that are important to our understanding of relations between Old English and Primitive Cornish speakers in an earlier

period, while names such as *Cridiantun*, *Nymed* and *Wogganwylle* can provide valuable information about the development of the land-units with which they were associated.

Overall, the toponymic evidence recorded from the eighth, late ninth and tenth centuries appears to support and augment the earlier discussions of the linguistic evidence relating to the borrowing of *crig* names into Old English and the development of the name of Devon itself. It seems almost certain that the adoption by Old English speakers of Primitive Cornish place-names in the Exeter hinterland area began during the second half of the seventh century and continued at least into the second half of the eighth century, and that Primitive Cornish must have existed as a living vernacular language alongside Old English throughout that period. This clearly implies the existence of a resident population able to use or understand both languages; and the eventual predominance of the Old English language by the late ninth century seems likely to owe as much to its adoption by the local population as to any major influx of Old English speakers from elsewhere. Although the complete lack of recorded place-names from the latter part of the eighth century and the first three-quarters of the ninth century means that we lack the information needed to reconstruct these linguistic developments in detail, a significant degree of continuity within the local population would seem to increase the opportunities for, and the likelihood of, a corresponding degree of continuity in local patterns of landscape organisation during the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control in the Exeter area.

4.4: The place-names of Exeter's hinterland as recorded in Domesday Book.

From the beginning of the eleventh century onwards, the quantity of surviving evidence relating to place-names increases dramatically. The interests of royalty, government and ecclesiasts continue to dominate the written record and thus the surviving evidence, of course, but nonetheless this increase gives us a broad range of information about place-nomenclature across the whole survey area. However, as space is limited I am not going to go through the entire

corpus in detail at the present time - although the chronological re-assessment of place-name formation necessarily would need to progress through this and succeeding centuries in the same manner as has been attempted above in order to reveal the trends in their development, survival or replacement. Instead, I intend to look at a couple of aspects of the record of place-names preserved by Domesday Book, which constitutes what is often the earliest surviving information about the way in which a particular land-unit was identified by reference to its surroundings, function or history. Although this might appear to omit much of the evidence from the eleventh century, the number of major names preserved in eleventh-century contexts but not in Domesday is actually very small, while Domesday provides us with a far more comprehensive body of data and is therefore more useful for the type of analysis attempted here.²³⁷

It was suggested in an earlier chapter that the purpose of the Domesday Inquest combined the fiscal and the tenorial but that its method combined the feudal and the geographical, and that underlying the Inquest was the fundamental concept of a named unit of feudal land-holding.²³⁸ Obviously, some of the questions discussed previously in relation to the Domesday evidence, such as what these 'holdings' actually represented in terms of the landscape itself and how reliably they can be identified or represented on a map, will also have a bearing on what we can and cannot do with the toponymic evidence. In addition, Domesday can be uneven in its coverage; the entry relating to Crediton, for example, silently includes dependent holdings such as Sandford, whereas the entry for Bovey Tracey includes details relating to nine named pre-Conquest holdings that had since been added to the main holding.²³⁹ Nevertheless, the place-names of the three hundred or so holdings recorded by the Domesday Inquest provide us with an invaluable overview of the toponymic landscape across the entire Exeter hinterland survey

²³⁷ There are only two major names that are omitted by Domesday but preserved from other eleventh-century contexts. Sandford, already noted above with regard to the tenth century, occurs in bishop Ælfwold's will (S 1492) but was regarded as part of Crediton in 1086: see below. *Sidefullan hwiisc* is recorded in the *Inventory* and presumably corresponds to part or all of what became Exeter St Sidwell parish: see discussion in chapters 2.3, 3.2 and 3.2.2 above.

²³⁸ See discussion in chapter 2.3 above (at pp.44-5).

²³⁹ Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 2,2; 3,8.

area.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, the size and ubiquity of this corpus of place-names lend themselves to a statistical analysis based upon the thematic classification and comparison of the various generics, qualifiers and languages used in their formation.²⁴¹

However, such an analysis must allow for the fact that one or more adjacent or near-adjacent holdings may have the same place-name, which may indicate either that they once constituted a single land-unit or the presence of a prominent landscape feature by which each could be readily identified, for example. An analysis that counts each holding as a discrete occurrence of a place-name, therefore, provides us with what can be described as a maximalist view of the frequency with which particular place-name elements occur within the corpus; a corrective - but perhaps even more misleading - minimalist approach is to count only the main identifying toponymic of a holding or group of holdings [hereafter referred to as an 'identifier'] as a discrete occurrence. Somewhere between these two extremes lies a third, albeit rather more subjective, approach that attempts to indicate how many discrete places a particular place-name or element actually referred to [hereafter referred to as a 'place']. Obviously, none of these three approaches is entirely satisfactory if used in isolation, nor can any criteria be wholly satisfactory, but it is hoped that this three-tiered assessment of the corpus will remove the worst of the potential distortions inherent in trying to relate the named units of feudal land-holding recorded by Domesday to the human landscape in which their place-names were originally formed.

Domesday Book and its associated documents refer to 305 holdings located within the Exeter hinterland survey area, and those instances in which the classification of the place-name is certain refer to 254 places and 197 identifiers. These totals have been used as the base figures for the various percentage figures quoted in the following discussion; the frequency with which each place-name generic occurs within this corpus is given in Appendix III (the main results are

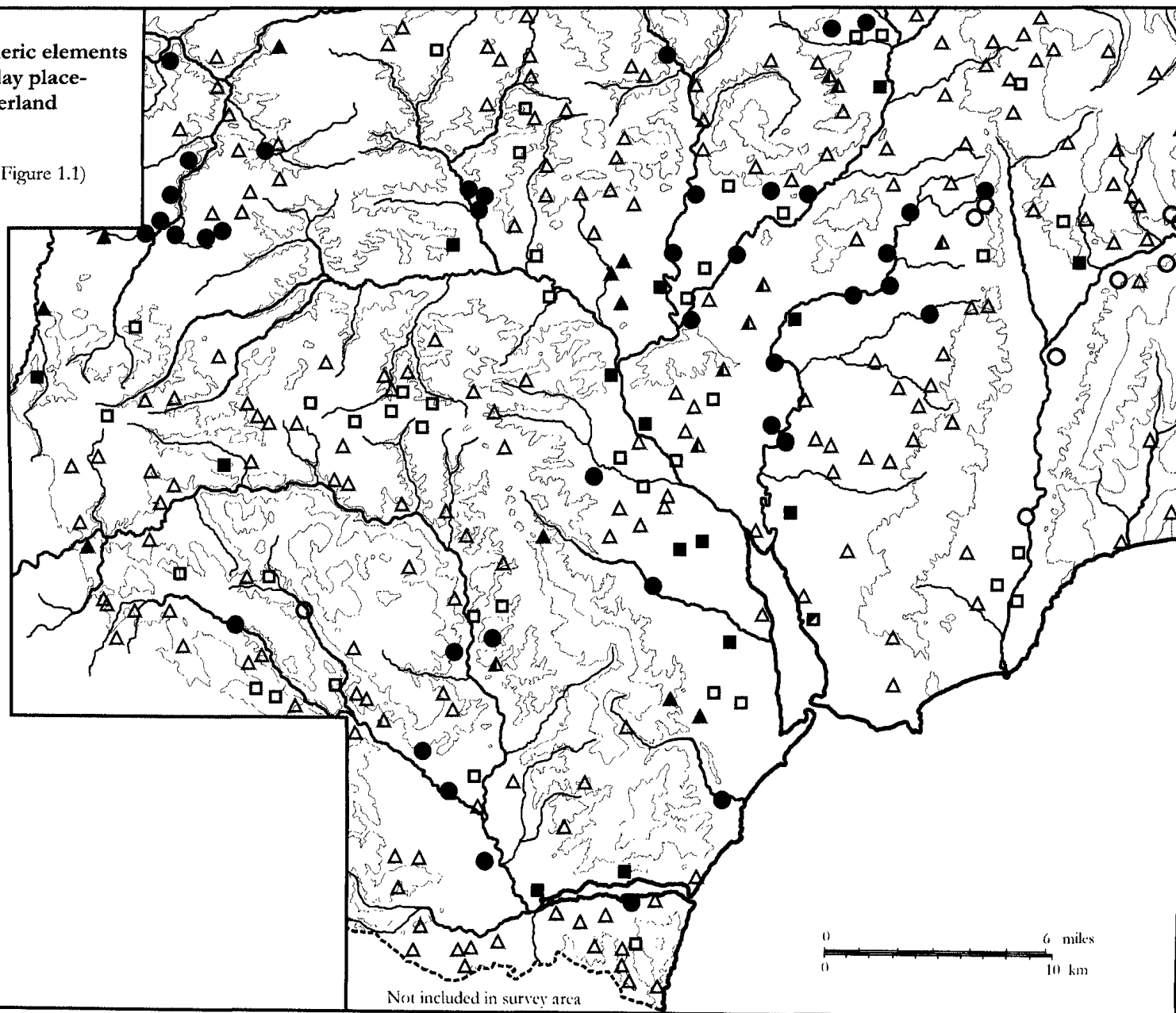
²⁴⁰ Appendix II below provides an alphabetical list of these holdings, in each case giving a standardised form of the Domesday place-name, a modern identification corresponding to the holding's location, the Domesday reference for the holding (based on Thorn & Thorn, 1985), and an interpretation of the place-name.

²⁴¹ The detailed breakdown of this analysis is given in Appendix III below. The value of this type of approach has long been recognised: see, for example, Cox, 1976; Gelling, 1984.

Figure 4.10 The languages and generic elements present in the Domesday place-names of Exeter's hinterland

(Note: scale, rivers and contours as for Figure 1.1)

- Habitative generic; all elements Old English
- Habitative generic; pre-English elements present
- ▣ Habitative generic; possible pre-English element present
- △ Topographical generic; all elements Old English
- ▲ Topographical generic; pre-English elements present
- ▲ Topographical generic; possible pre-English elements present
- Place-name from pre-English river-name; no generic
- Place-name from Old English river-name; no generic



mapped in Fig. 4.10). There is insufficient space here to attempt a full analysis of these data and that will be undertaken elsewhere and at another time, but I would like to close the present chapter by focusing on one problem that is highlighted by these data.

There are 71 holdings (23.1%) and 59 places (23.0%) named by Domesday in the Exeter hinterland area whose place-names were formed directly or indirectly from the name of the river or stream on or near which they were situated. These holdings are by definition 'major names', and many were of administrative importance in later and probably in earlier periods as well as in the late eleventh century. We have already seen that, from the earliest period, settlement-names adopted from unmodified river-names are a recurrent feature of local toponymy. We have also seen that a significant proportion of the river-names within the survey area are of pre-English origin. This transmission and continuity of river-names in itself provides an indication that a fair degree of contact took place between Primitive Cornish and Old English speakers in eastern Dumnonia, and this is also in keeping with the tentative model of the transition process that has been offered above. The key issue seems to be in deciding whether it is the survival of the river-names that leads to the formation of place-names derived from them by Old English speakers, or whether Primitive Cornish place-names formed earlier by a similar process, and presumably representing Dumnonian land-units, are present among the survivors.

The question has significant ramifications. If a minimalist view is taken, then there are only three certain instances (1%) of purely Primitive Cornish place-names recorded by Domesday within the Exeter hinterland survey area, namely Crooke, Dunchideock and Morchard. However, if we include the place-names that are formed from river-names, then there are 39 holdings (12.8%) and 35 places (13.6%) derived from 14 identifiers (6.5%) with purely pre-English place-names and that are uncompounded with any Old English element. At the farthest extreme, if all place-names which incorporate an element that can reasonably be argued as being pre-English are included, then Domesday records a total of 74 holdings (24.2%) referring to 63 places (24.8%)

and 27 identifiers (13.7%) within the survey area. Somewhere between the two extremes of 'about one percent' and 'about twenty-five percent' must lie a realistic figure that we can work with - but how do we decide upon the criteria and methodology that will provide such a figure?

By comparison (and although the extremely small sample size renders the exercise tenuous, it is all that we have for the Exeter hinterland survey area), the figures from earlier centuries illustrate a steady decline in the proportion of pre-English place-names and place-name elements surviving within the recorded corpus. For the eighth century, both of the major names recorded (*Cridie*, *Ad-Escancastre*) incorporate an element that can reasonably be argued as being pre-English, representing 100%. Similarly, three of the five major names recorded from the ninth century (*Columtune*, *Exan Mynster*, *Exanceaster*) incorporate such an element, representing 60%; and for the tenth century there are four examples from the possible ten major names recorded (*Exanceaster*, *Cridiantun(e)*, *Nymed*, *Brentefordland*), representing 40%. When seen from this perspective, the figure of around 25% for the late eleventh century does not seem unreasonable; but this does not help us to determine the proportion of those place-names that represent genuine survivals of pre-English place-names for presumably pre-English land-units. I regret that I do not yet have an answer to this problem. It would appear that the question of the extent to which there was local continuity of named land-units during the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control, at least so far as the late eleventh-century place-name evidence is concerned, has become a question not so much of the actual survival of the evidence but one more concerned with deciding the methodologies, and the underlying assumptions, that we adopt in dealing with that evidence.

Yet that having been said, much of the earlier evidence considered in the present chapter points to there having been a significant continuity of population throughout the period in which the eastern part of the British kingdom of Dumnonia became Anglo-Saxon Devon. This in turn implies that there was a corresponding degree of continuity in the occupation and utilisation of the local landscape; and although the precise extent remains unquantifiable, there are some

indications as to the possible effects of this continuity in terms of landscape organisation. It was argued above that Dumnonian systems of landscape organisation and resource exploitation produced the surpluses necessary to support its secular and ecclesiastical élites, and that these systems included large administrative territories such as the *pagus Tricurius*, the '(district or tribe) of three armies' whose name hints at the existence of further sub-units within it. It was also argued that Dumnonia was being drawn into an Anglo-Roman orbit during the later part of the seventh century and that its political and ecclesiastical institutions may have become subject to West Saxon overlordship before the West Saxons acquired direct control of the Exeter area in the early eighth century. In these circumstances, and given the linguistic evidence for the presence of resident Primitive Cornish and bilingual speakers well into the eighth century, there is clearly the potential that some Dumnonian land-units, asset-collection systems and religious institutions were still functioning - and retained their basic identity - when they passed into West Saxon control. What we cannot determine is whether these would then have been assimilated relatively intact into contemporary West Saxon structures or whether they would have been reorganised along West Saxon lines, although the most likely interpretation of the evidence relating to certain place-names, such as *Cridie* and *Nymed*, has seemed to be that they represented the survival of former Dumnonian land-units. In any event, the conclusion that there was 'significant continuity in the occupation and utilisation of the local landscape' during the transitional period in Exeter's hinterland carries with it the possibility that not only individual land-units but also some institutional elements of Dumnonian landscape organisation may have survived to influence those of Anglo-Saxon Devon.

Chapter 5

Discussion and conclusions.

In many ways, the studies presented in the two preceding chapters can be likened to trying to build a bridge across a chasm. In chapter 3, a predominantly retrogressive approach was adopted that examined a variety of surviving local source materials within the framework of conceptual boundaries as preserved mainly by the ecclesiastical parishes. In those parts of the Exeter hinterland survey area for which detailed or provisional findings were presented it was possible to demonstrate the probable existence of a 'mother church system', comprising large original parishes that were associated with many of the area's identifiably 'superior' churches, by at least the early eleventh century. Although methodological limitations and the lack of suitable sources from before the mid-tenth century meant that it was not possible to show when this 'mother church system' originated, it was apparent that parts of the boundaries of the pattern of landscape organisation represented by the original parishes bore notable correspondences and differences to those of the pattern of local hundredal organisation recorded in the late eleventh century. The correspondences between the two patterns were sufficiently close to suggest that they reflected a single pattern of large scale landscape organisation common to both; but it is difficult to determine whether the patterns represented by the original parishes and the hundreds were coeval, whether one was based on and presumably subsequent to the other, or whether they were independently derived from an earlier pattern of landscape organisation.

By contrast, and building as it were from the other edge, chapter 4 attempted to collect and analyse the fragmentary and diverse materials surviving from the Roman period onwards and to integrate these in a coherent - albeit necessarily sketchy - account of the development of the British kingdom of Dumnonia and the stages by which the eastern part of it metamorphosed to become Anglo-Saxon Devon. It was shown that a resident British population remained in the

Exeter hinterland area when it was taken into West Saxon control in the early eighth century, with Primitive Cornish surviving alongside Old English as a vernacular language well into the eighth century and with some indications that the process of acculturation may not have been complete even in the ninth century. Although the precise extent of this continuity of population and landscape occupation could not be determined, it seemed likely that significant elements of Dumnonian landscape organisation survived to influence those of Anglo-Saxon Devon.

Yet although the two halves of our bridge might appear to be approaching each other on roughly the same line it is not possible to join the two parts in a single span; indeed, the gap between them remains a substantial and - at present - unbridgeable one. What we lack is local evidence that would demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that a Dumnonian land-unit and its boundaries, or a Dumnonian institution and its jurisdictional territory, had passed into West Saxon hands relatively intact and had then survived - or not, as the case may be - into at least the late tenth century. Admittedly, Pearce has suggested that the medieval parish boundaries of Hartland and Braunton in north-west Devon essentially preserved those of sixth-century Dumnonian land-units, while Thomas and others have indicated the possible relationship between the Domesday hundred of Stratton in north-east Cornwall, the *Triconscire* noted in king Alfred's will and the *pagus Tricurius* mentioned in the *Life* of St Samson.¹ However, the point being made here is not that such continuities were not possible - the present study has already shown that they were - but that we can neither prove nor safely assume that the recoverable boundaries of any land-unit in the Exeter hinterland area were derived from those of a Dumnonian predecessor. Indeed, we lack local evidence to show the definite survival of any eighth- or ninth-century West Saxon land-unit - whether or not it was created *de novo* - into the late Anglo-Saxon period, although to press this point too hard is to risk the type of *reductio ad absurdum* from which little early medieval history would emerge unscathed. Nevertheless, without such evidence we

¹ See chapters 1.3 (at pp.20-1) and 4.1 (at pp.253-5) above.

cannot project back into an earlier period any of the land-units or territorial units that can be shown to have existed in the Exeter hinterland area by the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

The problem is best illustrated by the examples of Crediton and Exeter. It seems probable that the grant of land *in loco ubi dicitur Cridie* in *c.*739 represented an existing and presumably Dumnonian land-unit that had come into the hands of the West Saxon king Æthelheard; however, we do not know its original extent nor - given the mutable nature of the Crediton estate in the late Anglo-Saxon period - can we argue that it retained its original boundaries and that these can be recovered from later evidence.² Similarly, although *Cridie* was granted as the initial endowment for a minster and we can reconstruct the probable extent of Crediton minster's parish at the beginning of the eleventh century, we do not know when it acquired its original parish. If the models developed by proponents of the 'minster hypothesis' are broadly correct and could be shown to be valid in Devon - a possibility for which the local evidence for church-scot provides limited but far from conclusive support - then it would be reasonable to suggest that Crediton's original parish was formed in the context of early eighth-century landscape organisation.³ However, the 'West Saxon model' proposed by Hase with regard to Hampshire and western Surrey envisaged that Æthelheard's predecessors Cædwalla (685-688) and Ine (688-726) instituted a policy whereby each *villa regalis* and its royal jurisdictional system was provided with a mother church, and that each Domesday hundred was connected with one of the estates with mother churches.⁴ This system does not appear to obtain in the Exeter hinterland area, where several mother churches and all or part of their contemporary parishes often lay within a single Domesday hundred - a pattern that seems more analogous to that observed by Bassett with regard to the West Midlands.⁵

² See chapters 3.2 (at pp.83-90) and 4.3 (at pp.295-7, 299) above.

³ See chapter 1.2 above, and especially pp.13-15. For local examples of church-scot payments, see chapter 3.5 above (at pp.220-1 & note 525) and the further references given there.

⁴ Hase, 1988, pp.46-8, 58. Hall suggested - albeit with some qualifications - that a similar system existed in Dorset: see chapter 1.3 above (at pp.22-3).

⁵ e.g. Bassett, 1996.

At Exeter, the apparent continuity of the Christian use of the cemetery site from the fifth century onwards may well indicate the institutional continuity of a church associated with that site during the transition from Dumnonian to West Saxon control.⁶ However, although Asser's ambiguous reference to Exeter's *parochia* strongly suggests that Exeter minster exercised some kind of jurisdiction that extended into Cornwall in the late ninth century, it is apparent that this *parochia* was significantly altered or dismantled when the minster was re-founded by Æthelstan some forty years later.⁷ While it is possible to reconstruct the parish, endowment and physical structure of the late Anglo-Saxon minster at Exeter in considerable detail, therefore, we cannot assume that any feature of these pre-dates the minster's re-foundation. Furthermore, the evidence for extensive local administrative reorganisation during Æthelstan's reign, which may well provide the most likely context for the local introduction of the hundredal system, emphasises the need for similar caution with regard to the other features of late Anglo-Saxon landscape organisation that have been detected within the Exeter hinterland area. It remains possible that some land-units and religious and other institutions that were recognisably descended from Dumnonian predecessors existed in the area when Æthelstan supposedly expelled the Cornish 'from Exeter, where until that time they had lived in equal rights with the English'. However, it has not been possible to demonstrate that this was in fact the case, nor that the local 'mother church system' detectable in the late Anglo-Saxon period had developed from a West Saxon 'minster system' of eighth-century origin.

Nevertheless, some significant progress has been made. The aims of the multidisciplinary study of the Exeter hinterland area presented in this thesis were to examine the transition from post-Roman British to Anglo-Saxon society in the former *civitas* of the Dumnonii, and to consider whether the models based on the 'minster hypothesis' can contribute to our understanding of the history of south-western Britain in the period c.400 to c.1200. The study has largely fulfilled these

⁶ See chapters 3.2 (at pp.62-4), 4.1 (at pp.246-9) and 4.2 (at pp.279-81) above.

⁷ For this and what follows, see chapter 3.2 above (at pp.65-72).

aims. It has offered a new interpretation of the political and cultural metamorphoses by which the eastern part of the British kingdom of Dumnonia became Anglo-Saxon Devon; in particular, it has provided an exemplification of the process by which the Primitive Cornish language and toponymy of the Exeter area were replaced by Old English, and both this and the approach to the linguistic evidence adopted here are likely to be directly applicable to several other major regions. It has not been possible to show whether or not the 'minster hypothesis' describes the nature of ecclesiastical provision in Devon in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, but the models and methodologies associated with it are undoubtedly of value in clarifying numerous aspects of local ecclesiastical, administrative and tenorial geography, particularly during the transition from late Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman society. Although, regrettably, the lack of suitable eighth- or ninth-century evidence from the Exeter hinterland area highlights a serious methodological limitation and represents an obstacle that we are not yet able to cross, it has certainly been possible to reduce some of the lacunae in our understanding of the area's history in the early medieval period.

Appendix I

The churches and chapels of Exeter's hinterland as recorded by the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291-2, ranked by total value

Rank	Church	<i>Taxatio</i> assessment (pence)			Total value of church				
		Value	Vicarage	Other	Pence	Marks	£	s	d
1	Exeter cathedral	0	0	23440	23440	146.50	97	13	4
2	Kenton	8000	840	640	9480	59.25	39	10	0
3	Crediton	0	0	8400	8400	52.50	35	0	0
4	Ottery St Mary	4800	1600	0	6400	40.00	26	13	4
5	Kingsteignton + chapel	4289	1200	0	5489	34.31	22	17	5
6	Exminster	4160	0	800	4960	31.00	20	13	4
7	Broadclyst	3200	1200	140	4540	28.38	18	18	4
8	Exeter St Mary Castle	0	0	4400	4400	27.50	18	6	8
9	South Tawton	3200	560	0	3760	23.50	15	13	4
10	Cullompton	3200	480	0	3680	23.00	15	6	8
11=	Exeter St Sidwell	2400	1200	0	3600	22.50	15	0	0
11=	Kenn	3600	0	0	3600	22.50	15	0	0
13	Dawlish	2240	1280	0	3520	22.00	14	13	4
14	Bovey Tracey	2678	734	0	3412	21.33	14	4	4
15	Moretonhampstead	3360	0	0	3360	21.00	14	0	0
16	Sidbury	2400	880	0	3280	20.50	13	13	4
17	Broadhembury	2880	180	0	3060	19.13	12	15	0
18=	Otterton	2400	480	0	2880	18.00	12	0	0
18=	Sidmouth	2400	480	0	2880	18.00	12	0	0
20	Awliscombe	2400	240	0	2640	16.50	11	0	0
21	Littleham	1680	800	0	2480	15.50	10	6	8
22=	Chudleigh	2400	0	0	2400	15.00	10	0	0
22=	East Budleigh + chapel	1600	800	0	2400	15.00	10	0	0
24=	Chagford	2320	0	0	2320	14.50	9	13	4
24=	Drewsteignton	2320	0	0	2320	14.50	9	13	4
26=	Combeinteignhead	2240	0	0	2240	14.00	9	6	8
26=	Stokeinteignhead	1760	0	480	2240	14.00	9	6	8
28	Newton St Cyres	1920	0	240	2160	13.50	9	0	0
29=	Bradninch	2080	0	0	2080	13.00	8	13	4
29=	Colebrooke	1280	800	0	2080	13.00	8	13	4
29=	Silverton	2080	0	0	2080	13.00	8	13	4
32	North Bovey	2051	0	0	2051	12.82	8	10	11
33	Dunsford	1960	0	0	1960	12.25	8	3	4
34=	Alphington	1920	0	0	1920	12.00	8	0	0
34=	Talaton	1920	0	0	1920	12.00	8	0	0
34=	Thorverton	1920	0	0	1920	12.00	8	0	0
37	Hennock	1379	444	24	1847	11.54	7	13	11
38	Payhembury	1600	200	0	1800	11.25	7	10	0
39	Salcombe Regis	1280	480	0	1760	11.00	7	6	8
40	Zeal Monachorum	1040	0	640	1680	10.50	7	0	0
41	Buckerell	1520	120	0	1640	10.25	6	16	8
42=	Cheriton Fitzpaine	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4
42=	Colaton Raleigh	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4

Rank	Church	Taxatio assessment (pence)			Total value of church				
		Value	Vicarage	Other	Pence	Marks	£	s	d
42=	Cowick	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4
42=	Morchard Bishop	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4
42=	Shobrooke	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4
42=	Tedburn St Mary	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4
42=	Whimble	1600	0	0	1600	10.00	6	13	4
49	Kentisbeare	1520	0	0	1520	9.50	6	6	8
50=	Cheriton Bishop	1440	0	0	1440	9.00	6	0	0
50=	Feniton	1440	0	0	1440	9.00	6	0	0
50=	Lapford	1440	0	0	1440	9.00	6	0	0
53	Spreyton	1200	160	0	1360	8.50	5	13	4
54=	Clyst Hydon	1280	0	0	1280	8.00	5	6	8
54=	Plymtree	1280	0	0	1280	8.00	5	6	8
56=	Aylesbeare	1200	0	0	1200	7.50	5	0	0
56=	Down St Mary	480	0	720	1200	7.50	5	0	0
56=	Dunkeswell	1200	0	0	1200	7.50	5	0	0
56=	Harpford	1200	0	0	1200	7.50	5	0	0
56=	Rewe	1200	0	0	1200	7.50	5	0	0
56=	Rockbeare	1200	0	0	1200	7.50	5	0	0
56=	Topsham	1200	0	0	1200	7.50	5	0	0
63	Lustleigh	1124	0	0	1124	7.03	4	13	8
64=	Bridford	1120	0	0	1120	7.00	4	13	4
64=	Christow	800	320	0	1120	7.00	4	13	4
64=	Manaton	1120	0	0	1120	7.00	4	13	4
67	Bickleigh	1040	0	0	1040	6.50	4	6	8
68	Nymet Tracey	1020	0	0	1020	6.38	4	5	0
69	Gittisham	1008	0	0	1008	6.30	4	4	0
70	Whitestone	960	0	0	960	6.00	4	0	0
71=	Clyst St Lawrence	880	0	0	880	5.50	3	13	4
71=	Doddiscombsleigh	880	0	0	880	5.50	3	13	4
73	Pinhoe	840	0	0	840	5.25	3	10	0
74	Ideford	804	0	0	804	5.03	3	7	0
75=	Ashcombe	800	0	0	800	5.00	3	6	8
75=	East Ogwell	800	0	0	800	5.00	3	6	8
75=	Sheldon	800	0	0	800	5.00	3	6	8
75=	Stoke Canon	800	0	0	800	5.00	3	6	8
75=	Wolborough	800	0	0	800	5.00	3	6	8
80	Cadbury	600	192	0	792	4.95	3	6	0
81=	Powderham	720	0	0	720	4.50	3	0	0
81=	Throwleigh	720	0	0	720	4.50	3	0	0
83	Farringdon	680	0	0	680	4.25	2	16	8
84=	Clyst Honiton	640	0	0	640	4.00	2	13	4
84=	Exeter St Nicholas	640	0	0	640	4.00	2	13	4
84=	Poltimore	640	0	0	640	4.00	2	13	4
84=	Stockleigh Pomeroy	640	0	0	640	4.00	2	13	4
88	Ashton	400	0	180	580	3.63	2	8	4
89=	Brampford Speke	480	80	0	560	3.50	2	6	8
89=	Upton Pyne	560	0	0	560	3.50	2	6	8
91=	Bicton	480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0
91=	Cadeleigh	480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0
91=	Clyst St George	480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0
91=	Exeter St Mary Steps	Chapel 480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0
91=	Ide	480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0

Rank	Church	Taxatio assessment (pence)			Total value of church				
		Value	Vicarage	Other	Pence	Marks	£	s	d
91=	Lympstone	480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0
91=	Mamhead	480	0	0	480	3.00	2	0	0
98=	Holcombe Burnell	400	0	0	400	2.50	1	13	4
98=	Poughill	400	0	0	400	2.50	1	13	4
100	Teigngrace	286	0	0	286	1.79	1	3	10
101	Bishopsclyst	240	0	36	276	1.73	1	3	0
102=	Clyst St Mary	240	0	0	240	1.50	1	0	0
102=	Exeter St John Arches	0	0	240	240	1.50	1	0	0
102=	Exeter St Mary Major	240	0	0	240	1.50	1	0	0
102=	Gidleigh	240	0	0	240	1.50	1	0	0
102=	Haccombe	240	0	0	240	1.50	1	0	0
102=	Willand	240	0	0	240	1.50	1	0	0
102=	Woolfardisworthy	240	0	0	240	1.50	1	0	0
109=	Dotton	160	0	0	160	1.00	0	13	4
109=	Hittisleigh	160	0	0	160	1.00	0	13	4
111=	Dunchideock	120	0	0	120	0.75	0	10	0
111=	Shillingford	120	0	0	120	0.75	0	10	0
111=	Sowton	120	0	0	120	0.75	0	10	0
111=	Trusham	120	0	0	120	0.75	0	10	0
111=	West Ogwell	120	0	0	120	0.75	0	10	0
116	Exeter St Olave	0	0	96	96	0.60	0	8	0
117=	Exeter St Kerian	80	0	0	80	0.50	0	6	8
117=	Exeter St Leonard	80	0	0	80	0.50	0	6	8
117=	Huxham	80	0	0	80	0.50	0	6	8
117=	Stockleigh English	80	0	0	80	0.50	0	6	8
121	Oldridge	60	0	0	60	0.38	0	5	0
122=	Blackborough	48	0	0	48	0.30	0	4	0
122=	Butterleigh	48	0	0	48	0.30	0	4	0
124=	Exeter St George	24	0	0	24	0.15	0	2	0
124=	Exeter St Paul	24	0	0	24	0.15	0	2	0
124=	Exeter St Stephen	24	0	0	24	0.15	0	2	0
127=	Clannaborough	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter Allhallows	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter Allhallows on Walls	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter Holy Trinity	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St Edmund	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St James	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St Lawrence	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St Martin	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St Mary Arches	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St Pancras	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0
127=	Exeter St Petrock	0	0	0	0	0.00	0	0	0

Appendix II

The place-names recorded in Domesday Book. A list of the Domesday holdings in the Exeter hinterland area, their locations and the suggested derivations of their place-names.

As noted in Chapter 4.3, the English Place-Name Society's volumes for Devon are now seventy years old; and although in many cases the place-name forms, derivations and interpretations given in those volumes remain valid, a significant number now require revision or correction in the light of more recent research. The intention here is to provide an accurate and up-to-date list of the place-name forms recorded in Domesday Book with their suggested derivations and meanings, and it provides the basis for the analysis given in Appendix III and the discussion of the material given in Chapter 4.4. In compiling this list, I have taken account of the opinions of previous researchers and have tended to follow these fairly closely, although in several cases I have been able draw upon information and early forms that were unavailable to them, and which sometimes tip the balance in favour of a particular derivation or its interpretation. I am very grateful to Dr Margaret Gelling, who has kindly read through all the derivations proposed here and discussed many of the problems with me; she has also suggested several revisions that are noted in the appropriate places. Any remaining errors are, of course, my responsibility.

Format of entries:

Each place or holding named in Domesday Book is accorded a separate entry in the following list, which is arranged alphabetically.

The first part of each entry gives a place-name form in bold type. This is normally a modern place-name corresponding to the place-name form given in Domesday Book, with any modern affixes given in normal type (e.g. *Taveton* is given as **Tawton**, South). Where the Domesday form is significantly different from that of an appropriate modern place-name form, however, only the italicised Domesday form is given (e.g. ***Clistone*** for modern Broadclyst). The use of single inverted commas indicates a 'lost' place (e.g. *Aisse* is given as '**Ash**'), and where no modern form exists for such a 'lost' place the italicised Domesday form is given (e.g. '***Esseworda***').

The next part of the entry, placed in square brackets, notes a modern place-name identification for each Domesday holding (unless this has already been given) and the parish within which it is

located. This provisional identification is based on that given by Thorn & Thorn, 1985 [hereafter DB, cited by chapter and entry] or proposed in chapter 3 above, although simplified where necessary for mapping purposes and adjusted to conform to the early nineteenth-century ecclesiastical parishes rather than the modern parishes. Where the place-name concerned is itself that from which the parish-name is derived, this is noted as AP.

This is followed, in curved brackets, by the Domesday place-name form (and any variants) in italics and the main DB reference for the holding, together with any cross-references to that holding in other DB entries.

Finally, the derivation of the Domesday place-name is given or discussed (see below). Where the entry is indented and no derivation is given, it means that the derivation is identical to that of the preceding entry.

Place-name derivations:

The language(s) and derivations of the place-name elements are given first, with the elements themselves italicised. This is followed by an expanded translation or interpretation of the meaning of the place-name given in single inverted commas, with some alternative meanings or implied senses being placed in curved brackets (e.g. 'estate (or farmstead)' may be given as alternative meanings of Old English *tūn* in a particular context; '(place at) the oak tree' may be the implied sense of a place-name that is literally translatable as 'oak'). Where several derivations or interpretations are possible, these are given together with discussion or references where necessary.

Where no attribution is given for the interpretation of a place-name, the derivation is based on that suggested by Gover *et al*, 1931-2 [hereafter PNDev, cited by volume and page] with or without subsequent refinement, clarification or correction by Ekwall 1960 or Mills 1998; in many cases, and also for the definitions of generics, the discussions of Ekwall 1928, Smith 1956, Cameron 1996, Gelling & Cole 2000 and Coates & Breeze 2000 have also been taken into account. Any such amendments have usually been made silently, but where there is substantial disagreement between these commentators, or where a more suitable derivation has been suggested elsewhere, the relevant details are given with full references.

Abbreviations used in derivations:

OE	Old English
ME	Middle English

PrC	Primitive Cornish
W	Welsh
Brit	British
RC	‘Root Celtic’ (i.e. of Celtic form but not definitely Brittonic)
Ant	‘Ancient’ (i.e. not of definitely Celtic form, and possibly pre-Celtic)
gen.	genitive
dat.	dative
pl.	plural
adj.	adjective
irreg.	irregular, but attested, form
*	hypothetical or reconstructed, not attested, form
~	repetition of preceding generic and/or its modern form or interpretation
r-n	river-name(s)
p.n	personal name(s)
+	denotes the combination of separate elements
>	giving rise to, developing into
<	derived from
≈	related to
[MG]	derivation suggested by Dr Margaret Gelling, <i>pers. comm.</i> , February 2001

List of the Domesday holdings in the Exeter hinterland area:

Aller [Aller ‘Peverel’ in Kentisbeare] (*Avra* DB 16,103): OE *alor* ‘(place at) the alder-tree’.

Aller [Whiteheathfield Barton & Bolealler in Cullompton] (*Alre* DB 32,3).

Alphington [AP] (*Alfintone* DB 1,43). OE p.n *Ælf* + *-ing-* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called *Ælf*’.

Appledore [outlier of Nymet Tracy] (*Apledore* DB 16,49): OE *apuldor* ‘(place at) the apple-tree’.

‘Ash’ [nr. East Ash in South Tawton] (*Aisse* DB 1,29): OE *æsc* ‘(place at) the ash-tree(s)’.

Ashcombe [AP] (*Aissecome* DB 34,10): OE *æsc* + *cumb* ‘valley where ash-trees grow’.

Ashton, Lower [in Ashton] (*Aiserstone* DB 6,6): OE *Æschere* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called *Æschere*’.

Ashton, Higher [in Ashton] (*Essestone* DB 44,1).

Aunk [in Clyst Hydon] (*Hanc*, *Hanche* DB 34,18; 34,34 *re* TO 501a5): possibly RC ≈ Gaulish *ancos* ‘hook’; perhaps referring to the low hill-spur on which Aunk stands.

Awliscombe [AP] (*Avlescome*; *Orescome* DB 19,26; 19,36): OE *āwel* + *cumb* ‘valley of the (river) fork’.

Awliscombe [in Awliscombe] (*Orescome* DB 34,26).

Awliscombe [in Awliscombe & Buckerell] (*Avlescome*; *Holescome* DB 19,25; 19,43).

Awliscombe [in Awliscombe & Buckerell] (*Orescome*; *Holescu(m)be* DB 34,23; 34,45).

Awliscombe [Godford in Awliscombe] (*Horescome* DB 19,32).

Awliscombe [Marlecombe & Wolverstone in Awliscombe] (*Avlescome* DB 25,14).

Aylesbeare [AP] (*Eilesberge* DB 16,136): OE p.n. **Ægel* + *beorg* ‘continuously rounded hill (or tumulus) associated with a man called **Ægel*’, with *beorg* later replaced by OE *beorn* ‘grove’.

Beetor [in North Bovey] (*Begatore* DB 16,60): OE *byge* + *torr* ‘curved rocky peak (or hill)’.

‘Bernardesmore’ [lost, nr. ‘Monk Culm’ in Silverton] (*Bernardesmore* DB 16,105): OE p.n. *Beornheard* + *mōr* ‘marsh associated with a man called Beornheard’.

Bickleigh [AP] (*Bichelie* DB 15,61): possibly OE **bica* + *leah* ‘pointed (or projecting) wood (or clearing, meadow)’, or OE p.n. *Bicca* + *leah* ‘~ associated with a man called Bicca’.¹

Bicton (*Bechetone* DB 51,1). OE p.n. *Beocca* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called Beocca’.

Blackborough [Ponchydown in Kentisbeare] (*Blacheberge* DB 51,7): OE *blæc* + *beorg* ‘black (or dark-coloured) continuously rounded hill (or tumulus)’.

Blackborough [France farm & Sainthill in Kentisbeare] (*Blacheberie* DB 16,101)

Blackborough [AP: Allhallows farm in Blackborough] (*Blacheberge* DB 34,20).

Bovey Tracy [AP] (*Bovi* DB 3,8): Ant r-n (?**Bovio*) >OE **Bofi*, but etymology uncertain.²

Bovey, North [AP] (*Bovi* DB 17,22).

Bowley [in Cadbury] (*Bovelie* DB 21,8): OE *boga* + *leah* ‘curved wood (or clearing, meadow)’.

Bradninch [AP] (*Bradenese* DB 19,31): OE *brād* (dat. *-an*) + *æsc* ‘(place at) the broad ash-tree’, but some confusion with *āc* (dat. *æc*) ‘oak’.

Brampford [Upton & Pynes in Upton Pyne] (*Brenford* DB 16,129): probably Brit **Brigantia* ‘the high one’ >PrC **Brent* >OE *Brent* + OE *ford* ‘ford associated with (the hill, district or estate called) Brent’; probably referring to the hill on which Upton stands.³

Brampford [Stevenstone & Cowley in Upton Pyne] (*Branford* DB 24,2).

Brampford [Rollstone in Upton Pyne] (*Brenford* DB 16,123).

Branfortune [Brampford Speke AP] (*Branfortune* DB 3,67): derivation as above, + OE *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) at ~’.

Bridford [AP] (*Brideford* DB 17,21): possibly OE *bryd* + *ford* ‘(shallow) ford (suitable) for brides’.

Bridford [Christow AP] (*Bredeford* DB 16,128).

¹ For further discussion of this name, see chapter 4.3 above.

² Ekwall, 1928, p.44; but cf. Rivet & Smith, 1979, p.273.

³ See chapter 4.3 above; and cf. Ekwall, 1960, pp.60, 63; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.77; *contra* PNDev, ii, pp.422-3; Cameron, 1996, p.175; Mills, 1998, p.50.

Brightston [Clyst Honiton AP] (*Bedricestan* DB 2,17): OE p.n *Beorhtric* + *stān* '(place at) the stone associated with a man called Beorhtric'.

Brungarstone [lost, in Bovey Tracy?] (*Brungarstone* DB 3,8): OE *brūn* (or p.n *Brūn*) + *gærstūn* 'brown paddock' (or '~ associated with a man called Brūn') is more likely than OE p.n *Brungar* + *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called Brungar' [MG].

Buckland [in Combeinteignhead] (*Bochelant* DB 19,41): OE *bōc-land* 'land granted by charter'.

Budleigh, East [AP] (*Bodelie* DB 1,9): OE *budda* 'beetle', used as p.n *Budda*, + *lēah* 'wood (or clearing, meadow) associated with a man called Budda'.

Burn [in Silverton] (*Burne* DB 47,9): OE *burna* '(the) stream'.

Bury Barton [in Lapford] (*Berie* (DB 2,3): OE *burh* (dat. *byrig*) '(at) the fortified place'.

Butterleigh [AP] (*Buterlei* DB 52,38): OE *butere* + *lēah* '(area of) high-quality pasture' [MG].

Cadbury [AP] (*Cadebirie* DB 21,7): OE p.n *Cada* + *burh* (dat. *byrig*) 'fortified place associated with a man called Cada'.

Cadeleigh [AP] (*Cadelie* DB 51,5): OE p.n *Cada* + *lēah* 'wood (or clearing, meadow) associated with a man called Cada'.

Cadeleigh ['Little Cadeleigh' in Cadeleigh] (*Cadelie* DB 19,24).

Chaffcombe [in Down St Mary] (*Chefecoma* DB 2,2 note, *re* TO 499a4): etymology uncertain. There is little evidence for OE p.n **Ceaffa*, and while OE *ceaf* 'chaff' + *cumb* 'valley' might be considered, the persistent *ff*- in the forms tells against it.⁴

Chagford [AP] (*Chageford* DB 3,65): OE **ceacga* + *ford* 'ford where broom (or gorse) grows'.

Chagford (*Cageford* DB 32,5).

Cheriton Bishop [AP] (*Ceritone* DB 52,11): OE *cirice* + *tūn*, 'estate (or farmstead) with a church' (rather than 'estate belonging to a church').⁵

Cheriton Fitzpaine [AP] (*Cerintone* DB 36,19).

Cheriton [in Payhembury] (*Cherletone* DB 15,63): OE *ceorl* + *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) of the free peasants'.

Chilton [in Cheriton Fitzpaine] (*Cilletone*, *Cillitone* DB 42,22; 44,2): OE p.n *Cilla* + *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called Cilla'.

Chisewic [Clyst St George AP] (*Chisewic* DB 34,30): Brit r-n **Klūst* (of uncertain meaning) >OE *Clist* + OE *wic* 'cattle (or dairy) farm on the river Clyst' [or just possibly *wic* ≈ 'trading centre'.⁶

Chitterley [in Bickleigh] (*Chiderlie* DB 15,60): perhaps OE **ceodor* + *lēah* 'wood (or clearing, meadow) in a bag(-shaped hollow)'.⁷

Chiwartiwis [Great Huish & East Huish in Tedburn St Mary] (*Chiwartiwis* DB 49,7): OE p.n **Cynneweard* + *hiwisc* '(land of) a household associated with a man called *Cynneweard'.⁷

Clannaborough [AP] (*Cloenesberg* DB 16,51): OE *cleofan* + *beorg* 'continuously rounded hill (or tumulus) marked by a triangular indentation (i.e. cloven)'.

⁴ See Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.109; *contra* PNDev, ii, p.368; Ekwall, 1960, p.94; *cf.* Mills, 1998, p.75.

⁵ See Cameron, 1996, p.126 (but *cf. ibid.*, p.143 for a preferred translation of OE *tūn* as 'estate' rather than 'village').

⁶ Ekwall, 1928, pp.81-2; but *cf.* Breeze, in Coates & Breeze, 2000.

⁷ Suggested by J.McN. Dodgson in Thorn & Thorn, 1985, DB 49,7.

Clifford [in Dunsford] (*Cliford* DB 16,110): OE *clif* + *ford* ‘ford at a cliff (or steep slope)’.

Clifford [in Dunsford] (*Cliforde* DB 47,11).

Clistone [Broadclyst AP] (*Clistone* DB 1,56): Brit r-n **Klūst* (of uncertain meaning) >OE *Clūst* + OE *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) on the river Clyst’.

Clyst [Sowton AP] (*Clis* DB 3,93): Brit r-n >OE *Clūst* (as above).

Clyst William [in Plymtree] (*Clūst* DB 52,39).

Clyst, Ash [in Broadclyst] (*Clūst* DB 16,89).

Clyst Gerred [in Broadclyst] (*Clūst* DB 43,2).

Clyst, West [in Broadclyst] (*Clūste* DB 16,92).

Clyst Hydon [AP] (*Clūst* DB 16,86).

Clyst St Lawrence [AP] (*Clūst* DB 15,58).

Clyst, Bishop’s [in Sowton & Farringdon] (*Clūste* DB 3,7).

Coddiford [in Cheriton Fitzpaine] (*Codeford* DB 52,23): OE p.n **Coddā* + *ford* ‘ford associated with a man called **Coddā*’.

Colaton Raleigh [AP] (*Coletone* DB 1,46): OE p.n *Cola* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called *Cola*’.

Colebrook [in Cullompton] (*Colebroche* DB 19,23): OE *cōl* + *brōc* ‘cool brook’.

Columbjohn [in Broadclyst] (*Colum* DB 49,2): PrC r-n **Culum*, **Colum* ‘the knot’ (or possibly Latin *columba* >PrC **Colum*, **Colom* ‘the dove’) >OE *Cul(u)m*.⁸

Combeinteignhead [AP] (*Cv(m)be* DB 19,28): OE *cumb* ‘valley’.

‘Coombe’ [Thongsleigh or Coombe, outliers of Cheriton Fitzpaine] (*Cv(m)be* DB 36,20).

Coombe [Borough farm in Drewsteignton] (*Cvme* DB 52,15).

Cowick [in Exeter St Thomas] (*Coic* DB 16,106): OE *cū* + *wīc* ‘cattle- (or dairy-) farm’.

Crediton [AP] (*Critetone* DB 2,2): PrC r-n **Cridi* ‘the winder’ or **Cridi* ‘the dwindler’ >OE *Cridie* + OE *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) on the river Creedy’.⁹

Creedy, Lower [in Upton Hellions] (*Cridie* DB 34,35): PrC r-n >OE *Cridie* (as above).

Creedy, Lower [in Upton Hellions] (*Credie* DB 34,37).

Creedy [Haske in Upton Hellions] (*Cridie* DB 3,72).

Creely [in Farringdon] (*Cravelegh* DB 3,94): OE *crāwe* + *lēah* ‘wood (or clearing, meadow) frequented by crows’.

Crockernwell [in Cheriton Bishop] (*Crochewelle* DB 35,21): OE *crocc* + *ærn* + *wella* ‘spring (or stream) by a pottery factory’ [MG].

Crooke Burnell [in North Tawton] (*Cruc* DB 51,3): PrC *crug* ‘abrupt hill (or tumulus)’.

⁸ See discussion in chapter 4.3 above; Ekwall, 1928, pp.109-10; *idem*, 1960, pp.135-6; PNDev, i, p.4; Breeze *apud* Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.133-5.

⁹ Ekwall, 1928, pp.103-4; Breeze *apud* Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.129-30; and see chapter 4.3 above.

Cullompton [AP] (*Colitone* DB 9,1): PrC r-n >OE *Cul(u)m* (cf. Columbjohn, above) + OE *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) on the river Culm'.

Culm Vale [in Stoke Canon] (*Colm* DB 49,4): PrC r-n >OE *Cul(u)m* (as above).

'**Culm**, Monk' [lost, in Silverton or Bradninch] (*Colm* DB 16,104).

Culm [Combe Sackville in Silverton] (*Colm* DB 52,17).

Curscombe [in Feniton] (*Cochalescome* DB 15,62): OE *cocc* + *halb* (or *hyll*) + *cumb* 'valley of the cock(or game-bird)-frequented nook (or hill)' [MG].

Dart Cottages [in Cadeleigh] (*Derte* DB 21,6): Ant or Brit r-n *Deruentio* >OE *Derte* 'river where oaks are common'.

Dawlish [AP] (*Dovles* DB 2,5): Brit *dubo* + **glassio* >PrC r-n >OE *Doflisc* 'dark (or black) stream'.

Densham [in Woolfardisworthy] (*Donevoldehame* DB 15,31): OE p.n *Deneweald* + *hamm* 'river-meadow associated with a man called Deneweald'.¹⁰

Densham [Minchingdown in Woolfardisworthy] (*Dimewoldesha(m)* DB 20,9).

Down St Mary [AP] (*Done* DB 6,4): OE *dūn* '(place at) the hill (or upland expanse)'.

Down Bovey [Little Bovey in Bovey Tracy] (*Adoneboui* DB 3,8): perhaps Ant r-n >OE **Bofi* (cf. Bovey Tracy above) + OE *ādūn* '(the place) down the river Bovey'.

Dunchideock [AP] (*Dvnsedoc* DB 32,1): PrC **din* + **cēdiōg* 'wooded fort'.

Dunkeswell [AP] (*Dodvcheswelle* DB 34,25): OE p.n *Dudoc* + *wella* 'spring (or stream) associated with a man called Dudoc'.

Dunscombe, Lower [in Cheriton Fitzpaine] (*Danescome* DB 34,33): probably OE p.n *Dynni* + *cumb* 'valley associated with a man called Dyn(n)e', the DB spelling being corrupt.

Dunsford [AP] (*Dvnesford* DB 23,12): OE p.n *Dun(n)* + *ford* 'ford associated with a man called Dun(n)'.

Dunsford [Sowton in Dunsford] (*Dvnesford* DB 52,47).

Eggbeer [in Cheriton Bishop] (*Eigebere* DB 16,30): OE p.n *Ecga* + *bearu* (irreg. dat. *beara*) 'small wood associated with a man called Ecga'.

Elsford [in Bovey Tracy] (*Eilanesford* DB 3,8). OE p.n **Æpel(l)af* or *Æpelheard* + *ford* 'ford associated with a man called **Æpellaf* or *Æpelheard*', depending on which forms are taken.

'**Esseworda**' [lost nr. Silverton] 1086 (*Esseworda* DB ch44 notes *re* TO 501b1): OE *æsc* + *word* 'enclosed settlement where ash-trees grow'.

'**Eveleigh**' [lost, nr. Comberoy farm in Broadclyst] (*Ivelie* DB 49,3): possibly OE p.n *Īfa* + *lēah* 'wood (or clearing, meadow) associated with a man called Īfa'; but forms suggest OE *īfig* + *lēah* 'ivy-covered wood'.

Exeter [city] (*Execestre, civitate Exonia* DB *passim*): Ant r-n *Isca* (perhaps 'trout river') >OE *Esc* + OE *ceaster* 'walled place (or Roman town) on the river Exe'.¹¹

Exminster [AP] (*Axeminstre, Aisseminstre* DB 1,4; 22,1): Ant r-n >OE *Esc* (as above) + OE *mynster* 'minster by the river Exe'.

¹⁰ For the meanings of OE *hamm* in Devon, cf. Gelling, 1960, pp.147-9, 153.

¹¹ See discussion in chapter 4.3 above.

Exminster [Towsington in Exminster] (*Esseminstre* DB 19,8).

Exwick [in Exeter St Thomas] (*Essoic* DB 16,109). Ant r-n >OE *Esc* (as above) + OE *wīc* ‘cattle (or dairy) farm by the river Exe’ [or just possibly *wīc* ≈ ‘trading centre’].

Farringdon [AP] (*Ferentone* DB 15,21): OE *fearn* + *dūn* ‘fern-covered hill (or upland expanse)’.

Farringdon (*Ferbendone* DB 49,5).

Feniton [AP] (*Finetone* DB 15,34): PrC r-n (≈ W *ffyn* ‘boundary’) >OE *Fīne* + OE *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) by the river Vine’.

Fulford, Great [in Dunsford] (*Foleford* DB 16,132): OE *fūl* + *ford* ‘foul (or dirty) ford’.

Fursham [in Drewsteignton] (*Fierseba(m)* DB 16,93): OE *fȳrs* + *hamm* ‘cultivated plot (in an area) where furze grows’ [MG].¹²

Gappah [in Kingsteignton] (*Gatepade* DB 34,44): OE *gāt* + *pæp* ‘upland path for (or used when moving) goats’.

Gidleigh [AP] (*Chiderleia* DB 15,7): OE p.n. **Gyddā* + *lēah* ‘wood (or clearing, meadow) associated with a man called **Gyddā*’.

Gittisham [AP] (*Gidesha(m)* DB 25,15): OE p.n. **Gyddi* + *hamm* ‘river-meadow associated with a man called **Gyddi*’.¹³

Greenslinch [in Silverton] (*Grennelize* DB 48,2): OE p.n. *Grēne* + *hlinc* ‘bank (or ledge, terrace) associated with a man called (or surnamed) Green’.

Hacombe [AP] (*Hacome* DB 16,152): OE *hæcc* + *cumb* ‘valley where there is a hatch’ (i.e. a gate or wicket, floodgate, fish weir, etc.).

Hacombe [Netherton in Combeinteignhead] (*Hacome* DB 19,10).

Hackworthy [in Tedburn St Mary] (*Hachevrde* DB 44,2): OE p.n. *Hac(c)a* + *worþig* ‘enclosed settlement associated with a man called *Hac(c)a*’.

Halse [in Nymet Tracy] (*Hax* DB 16,50): OE *hals* ‘neck (of land)’.

Halstow, South [in Dunsford] (*Alestov* DB 47,12): first element uncertain. For OE *hālig* + *stow* ‘place with holy associations’, early spellings with medial *gh* or *w* would be expected; for OE *heall* + *stow*, ‘~ of stone(s)’, early spellings with medial *e* offer difficulties.

Hatherleigh [in Bovey Tracy] (*Harlei* DB 3,8): OE *hagu-þorn* + *lēah* ‘hawthorn wood (or clearing, meadow)’.

Hawkmoor [in Bovey Tracy] (*Hauocmore* DB 3,8): OE *hafoc* + *mōr* ‘marsh (or barren upland) frequented by hawks’.

Heavitree [AP] (*Hevetrove* DB 34,56): probably OE p.n. *Hefa* + *trēow* ‘tree associated with a man called *Hefa*’.

Hembury, Broad- [AP] (*Hanberie* DB 42,16): OE *hēah* (dat. *hēan*) + *burh* (dat. *byrig*) ‘(at) the high (or chief) fortified place’.

Hembury, Pay- [AP] (*Hanberie* DB 16,95).

Hembury, Pay- [Uggaton in Payhembury] (*Henberie* DB 52,22).

¹² See also Gelling, 1960, p.153.

¹³ See *ibid.*, pp.147-9, 153, 155.

- Hennock** [AP] (*Hanoch* DB 16,155): OE *hēah* (dat. *hēan*) + *āc* '(place at) the high (or tall) oak-tree'.
- 'Hewise'** [Orway in Kentisbeare] (*Hewise* DB 19,22): OE *hīwisc* '(land of) a household'.
- Hillersdon** [in Cullompton] (*Hilesdone* DB 42,18): probably OE p.n. **Hildhere* + *dūn* 'hill (or upland expanse) associated with a man called *Hildhere'.
- Hittisleigh** [AP] (*Hiteneslei* DB 16,114): OE p.n. **Hyttin* + *lēah* 'wood (or clearing, meadow) associated with a man called *Hyttin'.
- Holbeam** [in East Oggwell] (*Holebeme* DB 48,6): OE *hol* + *bēam* 'hollow tree (or tree-trunk)'.
- Holbrook** [in Clyst Honiton] (*Colebroch* DB 15,20): OE *hol* + *brōc* 'brook (running) in a hollow'.
- Holbrook** [in Clyst Honiton] (*Holebroch* DB 52,18).
- Holcombe** Burnell [AP] (*Holecv(m)be* DB 1,69): OE *hol* + *cumb* 'hollow (or deep) valley'.
- Holcombe** [in East Teignmouth] (*Holecome* DB 34,11).
- Houndtor** [in Manaton] (*Hvndatore* DB 5,11): OE *hund* (or p.n. *Hunda*) + *torr* 'rock, (or rocky peak or hill) of the hound(s)' or '~ associated with a man called Hunda'.
- Huxham** [AP] (*Hochesha(m)* DB 34,29): OE p.n. *Hōc* + *hamm* 'river-meadow associated with a man called Hōc'.¹⁴
- Ide** [AP] (*Ide* DB 2,6): etymology uncertain, but perhaps a pre-English r-n.
- Ideford** [AP] (*Ludeford* or *Iudeford* DB 48,8): OE p.n. **Giedda* or *giedd* (gen. pl. *giedda*) + *ford*, hence either 'ford associated with a man called *Giedda' or '~ (where people assemble) for speeches or songs'.
- Ingsdon** [in Ilsington] (*Ainechesdone* DB 32,7): perhaps OE p.n. **Aegenoc* + *dūn* 'hill (or upland expanse) associated with a man called *Aegenoc'.
- Ingsdon** [in Ilsington] (*Ainichedone* DB 43,5).
- 'Jameschurch'** [in Heavitree] (*Jacobeschirche* DB 52,50): Latin *Jacobus* + OE *cīrice* 'church of St James'.
- Kenn** [AP] (*Chent* DB 16,58): pre-English r-n (perhaps <Brit **canto*, 'brilliant, white') >OE *Chen(t)*.
- Kentisbeare** [AP] (*Chentesbere* DB 16,100): OE p.n. **Centel* + *bearu* (irreg. dat. *beara*) 'small wood associated with a man called *Centel'.
- Kentisbeare** [AP] (*Chentesbere* DB 16,102).
- Kenton** [AP] (*Chentone* DB 1,26): pre-English r-n >OE *Chen(t)* (cf. Kenn above) + *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) on the river Kenn'.
- Kerswell** [in Broadhembury] (*Carsewelle* DB 32,2): OE *cærse* + *wella* 'spring (or stream) where cress grows'.
- Kingsford** [in Kentisbeare] (*Chinnesford* DB 16,99): OE *gyning* + *ford* 'the king's ford'.
- Knighton**, Chudleigh [in Hennock] (*Chenistetone* DB 2,20): OE *cniht* + *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) of the young men (or of the retainers of a lord)'.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, pp.147-9, 153.

Lambert [‘Little Lampford’ in Cheriton Bishop] (*Lanford* DB 43,4): OE *lamb* + *ford* ‘ford for (or crossed by) lambs’.

Lambert [in Cheriton Bishop] (*Lanford* DB 52,12).

‘Landeshers’ [‘Allen Wood’ lost in Aylesbeare; or Houndbeare, an outlier of Woodbury] (*Landeshers* DB 14,4): OE *landscearu* ‘boundary’ [MG].

Langford [in Cullompton] (*Langeford* DB 16,96): OE *lang* + *ford* ‘long ford (or causeway)’.

Langstone [in Manaton] (*Langestan* DB 16,154): OE *lang* + *stān* ‘long stone (i.e. menhir)’.

Lapford [AP] (*Slapeford* DB 1,66 [also *Eslapaforda* in TO 497b5]): first element uncertain. Possibly OE *lēapa* + *ford* ‘ford marked by leaps (i.e. baskets for catching fish)’; or OE p.n. **Hlappa* ‘~ associated with a man called *Hlappa’; or OE *(h)*læpe* ‘~ frequented by lapwings’; or OE *læppa*, which has varied senses ‘skirt (of a garment), lobe, or district (or detached land)’, used in a topographical or administrative sense.¹⁵

Larkbeare [in Talaton] (*Lavrochebere* DB 39,10): OE *lāwerce* + *bearu* (irreg. dat. *beara*) ‘small wood frequented by larks’.

Larkbeare [in Whimple] (*Lavrochebere* DB 39,10).

Leigh, Doddiscombs- [AP] (*Leve* DB 47,5): OE *lēah* ‘(place at) the wood (or clearing, meadow)’.

Leonard [in Halberton] (*Lannor* DB 24,16): RC r-n (etymology uncertain) >OE *Linor*.¹⁶

Leonard [Moorstone in Halberton] (*Limor* DB 51,14).

Littleham [AP] (*Liteham* DB 7,1): OE *lytel* + *hamm* ‘small river-meadow’.¹⁷

Loosebeare [in Zeal Monachorum] (*Losbere* DB 8,1): generic uncertain; OE *hlōse* + either *beorg* ‘continuously rounded hill with a pigsty’, or + *bearu* (irreg. dat. *beara*) ‘small wood ~’.

Lowley [in Doddiscombsleigh] (*Levelege* DB 47,6): OE p.n. *Leofa* + *lēah* ‘wood (or clearing, meadow) associated with a man called Leofa’.

Lowton [in Moretonhampstead] (*Lewendone* DB 47,14): OE *hleow* (or adj. *hleow*, *hleowa*) + *dūn* ‘(place at) the sheltered (or sunny) hill (or upland expanse)’.

Lympstone [AP] (*Levestone* DB 26,1): forms of first element uncertain. Possibly OE p.n. *Lēofwine* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called Lēofwine’, or perhaps Brit r-n **Lemanā* ‘elm river, stream’ >OE *Lyman* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) on the Lymn stream’.

Maidencombe [in Stokeinteignhead] (*Medenecome* DB 16,126): OE *mæġden* + *cumb* ‘valley of the maidens’.

Mamhead [AP] (*Mammeheve* DB 16,63): Brit **mamm* + OE *hēafod* ‘head (or end) of the breast-like hill’.

Mamhead [‘Ashford’ in Mamhead] (*Manneheve* DB 52,48).

Manaton [AP] (*Manitone* DB 52,27): OE (ge)*mæne* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) held in common’.

Manaton [‘Little Manaton’ in Manaton] (*Magnetone* DB 16,160).

Martin [in Drewsteignton] (*Mertone* DB 16,115): OE (ge)*mære* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) at the boundary’ [MG].

¹⁵ PNDev, i, p.300; ii, p.369; Ekwall, 1960, p.288; Mills, 1998, p.215; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.78.

¹⁶ See Ekwall, 1928, pp.275-6.

¹⁷ Gelling, 1960, p.155.

Matford [in Exminster] (*Madford* DB 15,55): either OE *mægðe* or *mægð* (gen. pl. *mægða*) + *ford* ‘ford where mayweed grows’ or ‘~ of the maidens’.

Matford [in Exminster] (*Matford* DB 19,9).

Medland [in Cheriton Bishop] (*Mideland* DB 52,13): OE *middel* + *land* ‘the middle land (or new arable area)’.

Melhuish [in Tedburn St Mary] (*Melenis* DB 16,116): OE p.n *Mægla* or *mæle* + *hīwisc* ‘(land of) a household associated with a man called Mægla’ or ‘~ with a variegated appearance’.

Middlecott [in Chagford] (*Midelcote* DB 52,37): OE *middel* + *cot* ‘the middle cottage(s)’.

Morchard Bishop [AP] (*Morchet* (DB 1,68): PrC **mor* + **cēd* ‘the great wood’.

Moretonhamstead [AP] (*Mortone* DB 1,45): OE *mōr* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) in boggy (or barren) upland’ (rather than functional compound *mōrtūn*) [MG].

Mowlish [in Kenton] (*Milchenis* DB 52,49): OE *mul* + *hīwisc* ‘(land of) a household where mules are kept’.

Mowlish [in Kenton] (*Bolewis* DB 34,13).

Neadon [in Manaton] (*Benedone* DB 16,156): OE *benīpan* + *dūn* ‘(place) beneath the hill (or upland expanse)’.

Netherexe [AP] (*Niresse* DB 3,69): OE *neodera* + r-n *Esc* (<Ant r-n *Isca*, cf. Exeter above) ‘(place) lower down the river Exe’.

Newton St Cyres [AP] (*Niwetone* DB 2,2; 52,34): OE *niwe* + *tūn* ‘the new estate (or farmstead)’.

Nutwell [in Woodbury] (*Notesville* DB 52,35): OE *hnutu* + *wielle* ‘spring (or stream) where nut-trees grow’.

Nymet Tracy [AP] (*Limet* DB 3,21): Brit **nemeto* ‘shrine’ >PrC **Nemed*, **Nimed* >OE *Nymed*.¹⁸

Nymet [Hampson in Nymet Tracy] (*Nimet* DB 25,8).

Nymet [Natson in Nymet Tracy] 1086 (*Limete* DB 52,9).

Nymet [Walson in Clannaborough] (*Limet* DB 16,52).

Nymet [Woolfin in Down St Mary] (*Nimet* DB 24,28).

Nymet Rowland [AP] (*Limet* DB 16,45).

Nymet, Broad- [AP] (*Limet* DB 16,48).

Nymet [Zeal Monachorum AP] (*Limet* DB 6,3).

Nymet [Burstons in Zeal Monachorum] (*Limet* DB 16,55).

Ogwell, East [AP] (*Ogewille* DB 34,27): OE p.n **Wocga* or **Wogga* + *wielle* ‘spring (or stream) associated with a man called **Wocga*’.

Ogwell, East [AP; may include part of West Ogwell AP] (*Ogewille* DB 34, 28).

Ogwell, East [AP] (*Wogwel* DB 48,5).

Ogwell, West [AP] (*Wogewille* DB 52,14).

¹⁸ See discussion in chapter 4.3 above.

- Oldridge** [outlier of Exeter St Thomas] (*Waldenige* DB 16,118): OE p.n *Wealda* + *hrycg* ‘ridge associated with a man called Wealda’.
- Orway** [in Kentisbeare] (*Orrewai* DB 38,2): first element uncertain. For OE *ōra* + *weg* ‘routeway along the bank’, early and persistent double *r* is a problem; an OE p.n **Orra* is possible.
- Otterton** [AP] (*Otritone* DB 11,1): OE *oter* + *ēa* ‘otter river’ (> r-n *Otrn*) + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) by the river Otter’.
- Ottery** [Dotton, extra-parochial] (*Otrit* DB 16,135): OE *oter* + *ēa* ‘otter river’ (> r-n *Otrn*).
- Ottery** [Hayne & Rapshayes in Buckerell] (*Otri* DB 19,34).
- Ottery** [Ivedon in Awliscombe] (*Otri* DB 19,42).
- Ottery** [Ivedon in Awliscombe] (*Otri* DB 19,43).
- Ottery** [Pomeroy in Gittisham] (*Otri* DB 34,32).
- Ottery** St Mary [AP] (*Otrei* DB 10,1).
- Parford** [in Drewsteignton] (*Palford* DB 43,1): OE *pæp* + *ford* ‘ford on an upland path’.
- Peamore** [in Exminster] (*Peumere* DB 34,12): OE *pawa* + *mere* ‘pond (or lake) where there are peafowl’.
- Pinhoe** [AP] (*Pinnoch*, *Pinnoc* DB 1,52): etymology uncertain. Perhaps PrC hill-name **pen(n)* ‘head, top, end’ + OE *hōh* ‘heel-shaped hill-spur’, or PrC or OE diminutive **pennuc*, **pennoc* < PrC **pen(n)*; but neither *-eo-* nor the later *-i-*, *-y-* suits an OE **peon* < PrC *pen(n)*, while ASC A s.a. 1001 form *Peonbo* does not suit OE *pinn* ‘pin’.¹⁹
- Pirzwell** [in Kentisbeare] (*Pissewelle* DB 19,21): OE *pise* + *wella* ‘spring (or stream) by which peas grow’.
- Plymtree** [AP] (*Plumtrei* DB 42,17): OE **plym* + *trēow* ‘(place at) the plum-tree’.
- Polsloe** [in Heavitree] (*Poleslewe* DB 3,99): OE *pōl* + *slōh* ‘muddy place by a pool’.
- Polsloe** [in Heavitree] (*Poleslewe* DB 16,91).
- Poltimore** [AP] (*Pultimore* DB 50,1): etymology uncertain. Possibly OE p.n **Pylta*, **Pulta* + *mōr* ‘~marshy ground associated with a man called **Pylta* or **Pulta*’; or OE **pyltan* (≈ME *pilte*, *pulte* ‘to thrust out’) + *mōr*, although precise sense uncertain; or perhaps Brit *pull* + *tŷ* + *mor* ‘pool by the great house’.²⁰
- Poltimore** [Cutton in Poltimore] (*Pontimore* DB 16,90; 16,92).
- Ponsford** [in Cullompton] (*Pantesford* DB 16,97): first element uncertain. Probably OE p.n *Pant* + *ford* ‘ford associated with a man called Pant’; but first element may be PrC r-n **Pant* (≈W *pant* ‘hollow, valley’) > OE *Pante*.
- Ponsford** [in Cullompton] (*Pantesford* DB 16,98).
- Poughill** [AP] (*Pocheelle* DB 15,19): OE *pohba* + *hyll* ‘hill with a pouch(-like shape)’.
- Poughill** [Broadridge in Poughill] (*Pochehille* DB 35,24).

¹⁹ PNDev, ii, p.443; Ekwall, 1960, p.367; Mills, 1998, p.273; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.189, 213.

²⁰ PNDev, ii, pp.xiii, 444; Ekwall, 1960, pp.360, 370, 372; Mills, 1998, p.275; Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.44, 60; Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.291, 375.

- Powderham** [AP] (*Poldreba(m)* DB 22,1): OE **polra* + *hamm* ‘river-meadow in reclaimed estuarine marshland’.²¹
- Pullabrook** [in Bovey Tracy] (*Polebroch* DB 3,8): OE p.n. *Polla* or *pōl* + *brōc* ‘brook associated with a man called Pulla’ or ‘~ with a pool’.
- Raddon**, West [in Shobrooke] (*Ratdone* DB 15,5): OE *rēad* + *dūn* ‘(place at) the red upland expanse’ [MG].
- Raddon**, West [Yendacott in Shobrooke] (*Ratdone* DB 24,2).
- Raddon** Court [in Thorverton] (*Radone* DB 5,9).
- Raddon**, East [in Thorverton] (*Redone* DB 51,6).
- Rewe** [AP] (*Reve* DB 3,68): OE *ræw* ‘row (of houses, etc.)’.
- Ringmore** [in St Nicholas Shaldon] (*Rumor* DB 16,112): OE *ridde* + *mōr* ‘cleared area of low-lying wetland’ [MG].
- Rockbeare** [AP] (*Rochebere* DB 16,133): OE *brōc* + *bearu* (irreg. dat. *beara*) ‘small wood frequented by rooks’.
- Rockbeare** [AP] (*Rochebere* DB 15,22).
- Rockbeare** [AP] (*Rochebere* DB 16,134).
- Rockbeare** [AP] (*Rochebere* DB 16,138).
- Rocombe**, Lower [in Stokeinteignhead] (*Rachm* DB 48,4): OE *ra* + *cumb* ‘valley frequented by roe-deer’.
- Rocombe**, Middle [in Combeinteignhead] (*Racu(m)be* DB 19,29).
- Rocombe**, Higher [in Stokeinteignhead] (*Racome* DB 16,127).
- Rushford** [in Chagford] (*Risford* DB 16,113): OE **rȳsc* + *ford* ‘ford where rushes grow’.
- Salcombe** Regis [AP] (*Selcome* DB 2,16): OE *sealt* + *cumb* ‘valley where salt is (or was) made’.
- Shapcombe** [in Luppitt] (*Scobecome*, *Cobecvme* DB 23,20; 42,16): OE p.n. *Sceobba* + *cumb* ‘valley associated with a man called Sceobba’.
- Shapley** [in Chagford] (*Scapelie* DB 16,61): OE *scēap* + *lēah* ‘clearing (or pasture) for sheep’.
- Shapley** [in Chagford] (*Scapelie* DB 16,62).
- Shapley** [Jurston in Chagford] (*Scapelie* DB 16,64).
- Shapley** [in Chagford] (*Scapelie* DB 45,1).
- Shapley** [in North Bovey] (*Essaple* DB 52,44).
- Sheldon** [AP] (*Sildene* DB 34,19): OE *scylf* + *denu* ‘level plateau (cut by) a long, narrow valley with steep sides’.
- Shillingford** [AP] (*Esselingeforde* DB 49,1): first elements uncertain. Either OE p.n. **Sciell(a)* + *-inga-* + *ford* ‘ford of the family (or followers) associated with a man called Sciell(a)’, or OE stream-name **Scielling* (<**sciell* ‘resounding, noisy’) ‘~ on the stream called Scielling’.
- Shillingford** [Shillingford Abbot in Exminster] (*Selingeforde* DB 19,7).

²¹ MG; see also Gelling, 1960, p.155.

Shilstone [in Drewsteignton] (*Selvestan* DB 43,3): OE *scylfestān* ‘shelf stone (i.e. cromlech)’.

Shobrooke [in Morchard Bishop] (*Schiþebroc* DB 24,29): OE *scēap* + *brōc* ‘sheep brook’.

Shobrooke [AP] (*Sotebroch* DB 15,4): OE *sceoca* + *brōc* ‘brook of the goblin (or evil spirit)’.

‘Shutbrook’ [nr. Exeter] (*Sotrebroc* DB Exon 459a3): perhaps OE **scēte* + *brōc* ‘brook in a corner (or angle of land)’; however, OE **scite* + *brōc* ‘shit brook’ (i.e. ‘brook used as a sewer’) is more probable.²²

Sidbury [AP] (*Sideberie* DB 2,15): probably OE r-n *Sid* ‘river in a deep valley’ (< adj. *sīd* ‘wide, long, low down’) + *burh* (dat. *byrig*) ‘fortified place by the river Sid’.

Sidmouth [AP] (*Sedemude* DB 10,1 n): OE r-n *Sid* (as above) + *mūða* ‘mouth of the river Sid’.

Silverton [AP] (*Sylfretone* DB 1,7): first elements uncertain. Probably OE *sulb* + *ford* + *tūn* ‘estate, (or farmstead) near the ford (that is) in a gully’; but perhaps OE *syle* + *ford* + *tūn* ‘~ near the miry ford’ or OE stream-name (< *seolfor* ‘silver’) + *tūn* ‘~ on the stream called Silver’.²³

Spreyton [AP] (*Spreitone* DB 16,108): OE **spræg* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) in (area overgrown with) brushwood’.

‘Stapeliē’ [perhaps Staplehill in Ilsington] (*Stapeliē* DB 48,9): if the DB is form correct, then OE *stapol* + *lēah* ‘wood (or clearing) marked by a post’ or ‘~ from where posts are got’; if DB form is corrupt, however, then OE *stapol* + *hyll* ‘hill marked by a post’.²⁴

Stockleigh English [AP] (*Stocheliē* DB 15,48): first element uncertain. Probably OE *stocc* + *lēah* ‘wood suitable for supplying stocks (i.e. tree-trunks, heavy timber)’; possibly *stoc* + *lēah* ‘wood (or clearing, pasture, meadow) with (or belonging to) an outlying farmstead (or other sense of *stoc*)’.

Stockleigh [in Cheriton Fitzpaine] (*Stocheliē* DB 15,17).

Stockleigh [Upcott (Cheriton Fitzpaine) & Sutton (Stockleigh English)] (*Stocheliē* DB 15,18).

Stockleigh Pomeroy [AP] (*Stocheliē* DB 34,31).

Stoke Canon [AP] (*Stoche* DB 2,13): OE *stoc* ‘outlying farmstead, place’.²⁵

Stokeinteignhead [AP] (*Stoches* DB 48,3).²⁶

Stowford [in Colaton Raleigh] (*Staford* DB 14,3): OE *stān* + *ford* ‘stony ford’.

Strete Raleigh [in Whimble] (*Estrete* DB 34,38): OE *stræt* ‘Roman road’.

‘Svtreworde’ [Lustleigh AP] (*Svtreworde* DB 23,15): OE *super* + *worðig* ‘southern enclosed settlement’.

Sutton [in Halberton] (*Svetetone* DB 40,6): OE p.n *Sweta* + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called Sweta’; later assimilated to ‘south *tūn*’.

Sutton [in Halberton] (*Svetetone* DB 41,1).

Talaton [AP] (*Taletone* DB 2,14): probably OE r-n **Tæle* (< *(ge)tæl* ‘swift’) + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) on the river Tale’.

²² Ekwall, 1928, pp.363-4; Hoskins, 1957, p.xi; *contra* PNDev, i, pp.23-4, 184.

²³ PNDev, ii, pp.358, 554, 569; Ekwall, 1960, p.423; Mills, 1998, p.314.

²⁴ See discussion in chapter 3.2; *cf.* PNDev, ii, p.477.

²⁵ But *cf.* comments on *Stoctune* in chapter 4.3.

²⁶ But *cf.* note *re* this place-name in chapter 3.3.

Tale [in Payhembury] (*Tale* DB 34,21): probably OE r-n **Tæle* (as above).

Tale [in Payhembury] (*Tale* DB 34,22).

Tawland [Taw Green in South Tawton] (*Tavelande* DB 51,2): Ant r-n **Tavus* ('the strong one', >PrC **Taw* >OE *Tāw*) + OE *land* 'land (or estate, new arable area) by the river Taw'.²⁷

Tawton, South [AP] (*Taveton* DB 1,29; *Tauetone*, *Tauestone*, *Tavetone* DB 43,1; 45,1; 51,2): Ant r-n >OE *Tāw* (as above) + OE *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) on the river Taw'.

Tedburn St Mary [AP] (*Tetburne* DB 16,119): OE p.n *Tette* or **Tetta* + *burna* 'stream associated with a woman called Tette', or '~ associated with a man called *Tetta'.

Tedburn St Mary [AP] (*Teteborne* DB 16,120).

Tedburn [Great Fairwood in Tedburn St Mary] (*Teteborne* DB 19,30).

Teign, Canon- [in Christow] (*Teigne* DB 3,97): Brit r-n **Tagnā* >PrC **Tegn* >OE *Tegn* (meaning uncertain).²⁸

Teignharvey [in Stokeinteignhead] (*Taine* DB 16,117).

Teigngrace [AP] (*Taigne* DB 16,153).

Teign, George [in Ashton] (*Teigne* DB 16,159).

Teigncombe [in Chagford] (*Taincome* DB 3,66): Brit r-n >OE *Tegn* (as above) + OE *cumb* 'valley by the river Teign'.

Teignton, Drews- [AP] (*Taintone* DB 16,107): Brit r-n >OE *Tegn* (as above) + OE *tūn* 'estate (or farmstead) on the river Teign'.

Teignton, Kings- [AP] (*Teintone* DB 1,10).

Teignton, Bishops- [AP] (*Tantone* DB 2,4).

Thornbury [outlier of Hittisleigh] (*Torneberie* DB 15,59): OE *þorn* + *burh* (dat. *byrig*) 'fortified place where thorns grow' or '~ protected by a thorn hedge'.

Throwleigh [AP] (*Trle* DB 32,4): OE *þrūh* + *lēah* 'wood (or clearing, meadow) near a conduit'.

Topsham [AP] (*Topeshant* DB 1,44): OE *topp* + *hamm* 'summit of the promontory'.²⁹

Trusham [AP] (*Trisma* DB 6,5): etymology uncertain. Perhaps PrC *tre(f)* + **isam* (≈W *isaf* 'lowest') 'the lowest farmstead (or estate)'; or PrC **drīs* + **-ma* 'place of thorns'; or possibly OE **trūs(s)um* or similar (<OE *trūs* 'fallen leaves, brushwood') '(place) overgrown with brushwood'.³⁰

Twinyeo [in Kingsteignton] (*Betmie* DB 52,46): OE *betwēonan* + *ēa* '(place) between the rivers'.

Upcott [in Tedburn St Mary] (*Opecote* DB 16,131): OE *upp* + *cot* 'the upper cottage(s)'.

Up Exe [in Rewe] (*Vhpesse* DB 3,70): OE *upp* + Ant r-n *Isca* >OE r-n *Esc* '(place) higher up the river Exe'.

Warmhill [in Hennock] (*Wermehel* DB 3,8): OE *wearm* + *hyll* 'the warm hill'.

²⁷ Ekwall, 1928, pp.394-5; Jackson, 1953, pp.369, 522; Rivet & Smith, 1979, p.470; Coates & Breeze, 2000, p.366.

²⁸ Ekwall, 1928, pp.397-8; Breeze, in Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.136-7.

²⁹ Gelling & Cole, 2000, pp.50, 54; *contra* PNDev, ii, p.454; Ekwall, 1960, p.477; Mills, 1998, p.351.

³⁰ PNDev, ii, pp.503-4; Ekwall, 1960, p.481; Mills, 1998, p.354; Padel, 1999, p.88; Breeze, in Coates & Breeze, 2000, pp.140-1, 291, 375.

Whimple [AP] (*Winple* DB 16,94): PrC stream-name < **win* + **pull* ‘white (or fair) stream (or pool)’.

Whipton [in Heavitree] (*Wipletone* DB 19,38): OE p.n *Wippa* (or **Wipela*) + *tūn* ‘estate (or farmstead) associated with a man called Wippa’.

Whitestone [AP] (*Witestan* DB 22,2): OE *hwīt* + *stān* ‘(place at) the white stone’.

Whitestone [West Town & Hayne Barton in Whitestone] (*Witestan* DB 16,125).

Whitestone [Heath Barton in Whitestone] (*Witestan* DB 16,137).

Whiteway [in Kingsteignton] (*Witewei* DB 16,157): OE *hwīt* + *weg* ‘white routeway’.

Willand [AP] (*Willelande* DB 42,24): OE *wilde* + *land* ‘waste land’.

Withycombe Raleigh [AP] (*Widcome* DB 24,3): OE *wiðig* + *cumb* ‘valley where willow-trees grow’.

Wolborough [AP] (*Wlueberie* DB 16,163): OE *wulf* + *beorg* ‘continuously rounded hill (or tumulus) frequented by wolves’.

Wonford [in Heavitree] (*Wenford* DB 1,28): etymology uncertain. Probably OE *wynn* + *ford* ‘ford by the meadow (or pasture)’; but because there is no -*nn*- in recorded forms, a PrC r-n < **win* ‘white’ + **frud* ‘stream’) is just possible.³¹

Woodbeer [in Plymtree] (*Widebere* DB 25,13): OE *widu* (an early form > *wudu*) + *bearn* (irreg. dat. *beara*) ‘small wood by a wood’ [MG].

Woodbury [AP] (*Wodeberie* DB 1,33): OE *wudu* + *burh* (dat. *byrig*) ‘fortified place in by a wood’.

Woolfardisworthy [AP] (*Wlfaldeshodes* DB 21,12): OE p.n *Wulfheard* + *worþig* ‘enclosed settlement associated with a man called Wulfheard’.

Woolley [in Bovey Tracy] (*Wluelei* DB 3,8): OE *wulf* + *lēah* ‘wood (or clearing, pasture) frequented by wolves’.

Wray [in Moretonhampstead] (*Werei* DB 52,16): OE r-n < *wearg* + *ēa* (dat. *ie*) ‘river where criminals are drowned’.

‘**Wlwardesdone**’ [in, or part of, Down St Mary] (*Wlwardesdone*, *Olwardesdona* DB 1,72): OE p.n *Wulfweard* + *dūn* ‘hill (or upland expanse) associated with a man called Wulfweard’.

Wyke [in Shobrooke] (*Wiche* DB 15,3): OE *wīc* ‘cattle (or dairy) farm’.

Yard [in Silverton] (*Heierde* DB 47,10): OE *geard* ‘area of land (usually ¼ hide)’.

Yedbury [in Cruwys Morchard] (*Addeberie* DB 34,36): OE p.n. *Eadda* (or *Æddi*) + *burh* (dat. *byrig*) ‘fortified place associated with a man called Eadda (or Æddi)’.

³¹ PNDev, i, p.10; ii, pp.421, 441; Ekwall, 1960, pp.524, 530; Gelling & Cole, 2000, p.74. Note, however, that the coincidental *wyndeles cumb(e)* in S 433 is ‘valley with a windlass’: [MG].

Appendix III

Analysis of the generic elements in the place-names of the Exeter hinterland area as recorded by Domesday Book

There are 305 holdings in the Exeter hinterland survey area that are named in Domesday Book and recorded as separate entries in the list given in Appendix II. The following analysis of this corpus of place-names is based upon the generics used, with a secondary analysis of the qualifiers used in conjunction with each generic. Generics are given under separate headings where four or more holdings feature that generic; remaining generics used on three occasions or less are grouped together under an 'other terms' heading at the end of each section. The summaries are given in terms of the numbers of 'holdings', 'places' and 'identifiers' to which these generics refer; for the present use of these terms, see the discussion in chapter 4.4 above. Any derivations given here are simplified; reference should be made to the corresponding entry or entries in Appendix II for further details. Unless indicated otherwise, all italicised words given in derivations are Old English.

Analysis of the Domesday place-names in the Exeter hinterland area:

1: Habitative generics

Overall: 57 holdings (18.7%) referring to 53 places (20.6%) and 50 identifiers (23.4%); in addition, there are a further 3 holdings for which the presence of a habitative generic is uncertain, referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

tūn 'estate (or farmstead)'

Overall: 33 holdings (10.8%) referring to 31 places (12.1%) and 28 identifiers (13.1%).

As generic with a river-name: 11 holdings referring to 11 places and 9 identifiers.

Clistone (*Clyst*); **Crediton** (*Creedy*); **Cullompton** (*Culm*); **Feniton** (*Vine*); **Kenton** (*Kenn*); **Ottertton** (*Otter*); **Talaton** (*Tale*); **Tawton**, South (*Taw*); **Teignton**, Bishops- (*Teign*); **Teignton**, Drews- (*Teign*); **Teignton**, Kings- (*Teign*).
[for the identifiers, there are 7 PrC or pre-English r-n, and 2 OE r-n].

With other topographical feature as qualifier: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Branfortvne (*Brent + ford*); **Moretonhamstead** (*mor*).
[In addition, Silvertton may contain *ford*: see below].

With personal name: 9 holdings referring to 8 places and 7 identifiers.

Alphington (*Ælf*); **Ashton**, Lower (*Æschere*); **Ashton**, Higher (*Æschere*); **Bicton** (*Beocca*); **Chilton** (*Cilla*); **Colaton** Raleigh (*Cola*); **Sutton** [2] (*Sweta*); **Whipton** (*Wippa*).

With reference to classes of people: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Cheriton (*ceorl* 'free peasant'); **Knighton**, Chudleigh (*cnibt* 'young man, retainer').

With other qualifiers: 7 holdings referring to 6 places and 6 identifiers.

Cheriton Bishop (*cirice* 'church'); **Cheriton** Fitzpaine (*cirice* 'church'); **Manaton** [2] (*gemæne* 'held in common'); **Martin** (*gemære* 'boundary'); **Newton** St Cyres (*niwe* 'new'); **Spreyton** (**spræg* 'brushwood').

With ambiguous qualifiers: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Lympstone: either OE p.n *Lēofwine* or Brit r-n >OE *Lymen*.

Silverton: either OE *sulb* 'gully' or OE *syle* 'miry' + *ford*, or OE r-n <*seolf* 'silver'.

hīwisc 'household estate'

Overall: 5 holdings (1.6%) referring to 4 places (1.6%) and 4 identifiers (1.9%).

As simplex: **'Hewise'**.

As generic with personal name: **Chiwartiwis** (*Cynnewearð*).

With reference to domestic animals: **Mowlish** [2] (*mul* 'mule').

With ambiguous qualifier: **Melhuish:** either OE p.n *Mægla* or OE *mæle* 'variegated'.

word, wordig 'enclosed settlement'

Overall: 4 holdings (1.3%) referring to 4 places (1.6%) and 4 identifiers (1.9%).

As generic with personal name: **Hackworthy** (*Hac(c)a*); **Woolfardisworthy** (*Wulfheard*).

With reference to vegetation: **'Esseworda'** (*æsc* 'ash-tree(s)').

With reference to position: **'Svtreworde'** (*super* 'southern').

wic 'cattle (or dairy) farm' (or just possibly 'trading centre' in some cases)

Overall: 4 holdings (1.3%) referring to 4 places (1.6%) and 4 identifiers (1.9%).

As simplex: **Wyke.**

As generic with river-name: **Chisewic** (*Chyst*); **Exwick** (*Exe*).

With reference to domestic animals: **Cowick** (*cū* 'cattle').

other habitative generics

Overall: 11 holdings referring to 10 places and 10 identifiers; in addition, there are a further 3 holdings for which the presence of a habitative generic is uncertain, referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

With definite OE habitative generics: 6 holdings referring to 6 places and 6 identifiers.¹

cot 'cott, dwelling'	Middlecott (<i>middel</i> 'middle'); Upcott (<i>upp</i> 'upper').
ræw 'row of houses'	Rewe (as simplex).
stoc 'outlying place'	Stoke Canon , Stokeinteignhead (both as simplex).
stow 'place'	Halstow , South (either <i>heall</i> 'stone(s)' or <i>hālig</i> 'holy').

¹ There are no certain (or likely) instances of the OE generic *hām* 'homestead, estate' within the Exeter hinterland area; 3 holdings (Fursham, Gittisham, Huxham) have spellings that could indicate either *hām* or *hamm*, but the use of *hām* remains unlikely in a Devon context: see Gelling, 1960, pp.147-9, 153, 155.

With ambiguous OE generics, here classed as habitative: 5 holdings referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers.

ceaster ‘walled place,’	Exeter (r-n <i>Exe</i>).
myinster ‘minster’	Exminster [2] (r-n <i>Exe</i>).
cirice ‘church’	‘Jameschurch’ (Latin p.n <i>Jacobus</i>).
geard ‘land-unit’	Yard (as simplex).

With uncertain derivations, but habitative generic possible: 3 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Poltimore [2]: probably OE **pyltan* ‘thrusting’ or OE p.n **Pulta* + *mōr* ‘marshy ground’; but possibly Brit *pull* + *tīy* + *mor* ‘pool by the big house’, although if this is an inversion compound then the generic would be *pull* ‘pool’ rather than *tīy* ‘house’.

Trusham: perhaps PrC *tre(f)* + **isam* ‘the lowest farmstead’; or PrC **dris* + **ma* ‘place of thorns’; or OE **trūsum* ‘(place) overgrown with brushwood’.

2: Topographical generics

Overall: 241 holdings (79.0%) referring to 198 places (77.0%) and 158 identifiers (73.8%); in addition, there are 7 holdings for which the generic or the etymology are uncertain, referring to 6 places and 6 identifiers.

2a: Rivers and springs, ponds and lakes.

Overall: 71 holdings (23.1%) referring to 59 places (23.0%) and 32 identifiers (15.0%); in addition, there are 4 holdings for which the generic or the etymology are uncertain, referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers.

brōc ‘large stream’ (often muddy)

Overall: 7 holdings (2.3%) referring to 6 places (2.3%) and 6 identifiers (2.8%).

As generic with descriptive terms: **Colebrook** (*cōl* ‘cool’); **Holbrook** [2] (*bol* ‘hollow’).

With reference to domestic creature: **Shobrooke** (*sceap* ‘sheep’).

With reference to superstition: **Shobrooke** (*sceoca* ‘goblin’).

With ambiguous qualifiers: **Pullabrook**: either OE p.n *Polla* or OE *pōl*, *pull* ‘pool’.

‘Shutbrook’: either **scite* ‘shit’ (i.e. ‘sewer’) or **sciete* ‘corner’.

burna ‘large stream’ (often clear)

Overall: 4 holdings (1.3%) referring to 3 places (1.2%) and 2 identifiers (0.9%).

As simplex name: **Burn**.

As generic with personal name: **Tedburn**; **Tedburn St Mary** [2] (p.n *Tette* or **Tetta*).

wella, wielle ‘spring (or stream)’

Overall: 9 holdings (3%) referring to 7 places (2.7%) and 6 identifiers (2.8%).

With personal names: **Dunkeswell** (*Dudoc*); **Ogwell**, East [3]; **Ogwell**, West (**Wocga*).

With references to vegetation: **Kerswell** (*cærse* ‘cress’); **Nutwell** (*hnutu* ‘nut’); **Pirzwell** (*pise* ‘peas’).

With references to structures: **Crockernwell** (**crocc-ærn* ‘pottery factory’).

river-name used without additional generic

Overall: 48 holdings (15.7%) referring to 40 places (15.6%) and 15 identifiers (7.0%); in addition, there are 2 holdings for which the presence of a river-name is uncertain, referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Bovey: 3 holdings referring to 3 places; identifier is Ant r-n (?**Bovio*) >OE **Bofi*.

As simplex: **Bovey** Tracy; **Bovey**, North.

With qualifier: **Down Bovey** (*ādūn* 'down').

Clyst: 8 holdings referring to 7 places; identifier is Brit r-n **Klāst* >OE *Clīst*.

As simplex: **Clyst**; **Clyst**, Ash-; **Clyst**, Bishops-; **Clyst** Gerred; **Clyst** Hydon; **Clyst** St Lawrence; **Clyst** William; **Clyst**, West.

Creedy: 3 holdings referring to 2 places; identifier is PrC r-n **Cridī* or **Cridī* >OE *Cridie*.

As simplex: **Creedy**; **Creedy**, Lower [2].

Culm: 4 holdings referring to 3 places; identifier is PrC r-n **Colum* >OE *Cul(u)m*.

As simplex: **Columbjohn**; **Culm**; 'Culm, Monk'; **Culm** Vale.

Dart: 1 holding; identifier is Ant or Brit r-n *Deruentio* >OE *Derte*.

As simplex: **Dart** Cottages.

Dawlish: 1 holding; identifier is Brit *dubo* + **glassio* > PrC r-n >OE *Doflisc*.

As simplex: **Dawlish**.

Exe: 2 holdings referring to 2 places; identifier is Ant r-n *Isca* >OE *Esc*.

With qualifier: **Netherexe** (*neodera* 'lower down'); **Up Exe** (*upp* 'higher up').

Kenn: 1 holding; identifier is pre-English r-n (perhaps <Brit **canto*) >OE *Chen(t)*.

As simplex: **Kenn**.

Leonard: 2 holdings referring to 1 place; identifier is RC r-n etymology uncertain) >OE *Linor*.

As simplex: **Leonard** [2].

Nymet: 9 holdings referring to 7 places; identifier is Brit **nemeto* >PrC **Nemed*, **Nimed* >OE *Nymed*.

As simplex: **Nymet** [6]; **Nymet**, Broad-; **Nymet** Rowland; **Nymet** Tracey.

Ottery: 6 holdings referring to 5 places; identifier is OE r-n (< *oter* + *ēa*).

As simplex: **Ottery** [5]; **Ottery** St Mary.

Tale: 2 holdings referring to 1 place; identifier is OE r-n **Tæle*.

As simplex: **Tale** [2].

Teign: 4 holdings referring to 4 places; identifier is Brit r-n **Tagna* >PrC **Tegn* >OE *Tegn*.

As simplex: **Teign**, Canon-; **Teignharvey**; **Teign**, George; **Teigngrace**.

Whimble: 1 holding; identifier is PrC r-n (<**win* + **pull*).

As simplex: **Whimble**.

Wray 1 holding; identifier is OE r-n (< *weary* + *ēa*).

As simplex: **Wray**.

With uncertain derivations, but river-name possible: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Ide: 1 instance; identifier is perhaps a pre-English r-n (as simplex), but derivation unclear.

Wonford: 1 instance; identifier is probably OE *wynn* + *ford* 'ford by the meadow (or pasture)'; but because there is no *-nn-* in recorded forms, a PrC r-n <**win* 'white' + **frud* 'stream' (as simplex) is just possible.

other 'water' term as generic

Overall: 3 holdings referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers; in addition, there are 2 holdings for which the generic is uncertain, referring to 1 place and 1 identifier.

ēa 'river' **Twinyeo** (*betwēonan* 'between').
mere 'pond, lake' **Peamore** (*þawa* 'peafowl').
mūða 'river mouth' **Sidmouth:** (OE *r-n Sid*).

With ambiguous generic: **Poltimore** [2]: probably OE **pyltan* or p.n. **Pultra* + *mōr* 'marshy ground'; but possibly Brit *pull* + *tŷ* + *mor* 'pool by the big house', with *pull* 'pool' as generic if this is an inversion compound.

2b: Marsh, moor and floodplain.

Overall: 13 holdings (4.3%) referring to 11 places (4.3%) and 11 identifiers (5.1%); in addition, there are 2 holdings for which the generic is uncertain, referring to 1 place and 1 identifier.

hamm 'land hemmed in by water or marsh' (also 'river-meadow, cultivated plot')

Overall: 8 holdings (2.6%) referring to 7 places (2.7%) and 7 identifiers (3.3%).

As generic with personal name: **Densham** [2] (*Deneweald*); **Gittisham** (**Gyddi*); **Huxham** (*Hōc*).

With other qualifiers: **Fursham** (*fȳrs* 'furze'); **Littleham** (*lytel* 'little'); **Powderham** (**polra* 'reclaimed marshland'); **Topsham** (*topp* 'summit').

other 'marsh' term as generic

Overall: 5 holdings referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers; in addition, there are 2 holdings for which the generic is uncertain, referring to 1 place and 1 identifier.

mōr 'marsh, upland' **'Bernardesmore'** (p.n. *Beornheard*); **Hawkmoor** (*hafoc* 'hawk');
Ringmore (*ridde* 'cleared').
slōh 'muddy place' **Polsloe** [2] (*pōl* 'pool').

With ambiguous generic: **Poltimore** [2]: probably OE *mōr* 'marsh' (with adj. **pyltan* 'thrusting' or p.n. **Pultra*); but Brit *pull* + *tŷ* + *mor* 'pool by the big house' is possible.

2c: Roads, tracks and river crossings.

Overall: 33 holdings (10.8%) referring to 26 places (10.1%) and 23 identifiers (10.7%); in addition, there is 1 holding for which the generic is uncertain.

ford 'ford'

Overall: 29 holdings (9.5%) referring to 22 places (8.6%) and 19 identifiers (8.9%); in addition, there is 1 holding for which the generic is uncertain.

As generic with personal name: 4 holdings referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers.

Coddiford (**Codda*); **Dunsford** [2] (*Dunn*); **Elsford** (**Æpel(l)af* or *Æpelheard*).

With descriptive terms: 3 holdings referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers.

Fulford, Great (*fūl* 'foul'); **Langford** (*lang* 'long'); **Stowford** (*stān* 'stony').

With topographical feature as qualifier: 6 holdings referring to 4 places and 3 identifiers.

Clifford [2] (*clif* ‘cliff’); **Parford** (*pæp* ‘path’); **Brampford** [3] (PrC hill-name **Brent*).

With other qualifiers: 8 holdings referring to 6 places and 5 identifiers.

Bridford [2] (*bryd* ‘bride’); **Chagford** [2] (**ceacga* ‘broom’); **Lambert** [2] (*lamb* ‘lamb’); **Kingsford** (*cyning* ‘king’); **Rushford** (**rȳsc* ‘rushes’).

With ambiguous qualifiers: 8 holdings referring to 6 places and 5 identifiers.

Ideford (p.n. **Giedda* or *giedda* ‘songs’).

Lapford (p.n. **Hlappa*, or *lēapa* ‘leaps’, or (*h*)*læpe* ‘lapwing’, or *lappa* ‘skirt, lobe, district’).

Matford [2] (*mægðe* ‘mayweed’ or *mægða* ‘maidens’).

Ponsford [2] (OE p.n. *Pant* or PrC r-n **Pant*).

Shillingford [2] (p.n. **Sciell(a)* + *-inga-*, or r-n **Scielling*).

With ambiguous generic: 1 holding.

Wonford: Probably OE *wynn* + *ford* ‘ford by the meadow (or pasture)’; but because there is no *-nn-* in recorded forms, a PrC r-n < **win* ‘white’ + **frud* ‘stream’ is just possible.

other ‘route’ term as generic

Overall: 4 holdings referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers.

pæp ‘upland path’ **Gappah** (*gāt* ‘goat’).

stræt ‘Roman road’ **Strete** Raleigh (as simplex).

weg ‘routeway’ **Orway** (p.n. **Orra* or *ōra* ‘bank’); **Whiteway** (*hwīt* ‘white’).

2d: Valleys.

Overall: 26 holdings (8.5%) referring to 21 places (8.2%) and 18 identifiers (8.4%).

cumb ‘valley’ (in Devon; it can have more specialised meanings elsewhere)

Overall: 25 holdings (8.2%) referring to 20 places (7.8%) and 17 identifiers (7.9%).

As a simplex name: 3 holdings referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers.

Combeinteignhead; **‘Coombe’**; **Coombe**.

As generic with personal names: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Dunscombe, Lower (*Dynn*); **Shapcombe** (*Sceobba*).

With topographical feature as qualifier: 8 holdings referring to 5 places and 3 identifiers.

Awliscombe [6] (*āwel* ‘river fork’); **Curscombe** (*cocc* ‘gamebird’ + *halh* ‘nook’ or *hyll* ‘hill’); **Teigncombe** (PrC r-n **Tegn*).

With other qualifiers: 11 holdings referring to 9 places and 8 identifiers.

Ashcombe (*æsc* ‘ash’); **Holcombe** Burnell, **Holcombe** (both *bol* ‘hollow’); **Hacombe** [2] (*hæcc* ‘hatch’); **Maidencombe** (*mægden* ‘maidens’); **Rocombe** [3] (*ra* ‘roe-deer’);

Salcombe Regis (*sealt* ‘salt’); **Withycombe** Raleigh (*wiðig* ‘willow’).

With ambiguous qualifiers: 1 holding.

Chaffcombe: neither p.n. **Ceaffa* nor *ceaf* ‘chaff’ seem suitable.

other ‘valley’ term as generic

denu ‘main valley’ **Sheldon** (*scylf* ‘shelf, plateau’).

2e: Hills, slopes and ridges.

Overall: 31 holdings (10.2%) referring to 24 places (9.3%) and 21 identifiers (9.8%); in addition, there are 2 holdings for which the generic is uncertain, referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

beorg ‘rounded hill (or tumulus)’

Overall: 6 holdings (2%) referring to 5 places (1.9%) and 4 identifiers (1.9%); in addition, there is 1 holding for which the generic is uncertain.

As generic with personal name: **Aylesbeare** (**Ægel*) [with *beorg* later replaced by *bearn* ‘grove’].
With descriptive term: **Blackborough** [3] (*blæc* ‘black’); **Clannaborough** (*clæofan* ‘cloven’).
With references to wild creatures: **Wolborough** (*wulf* ‘wolf’).
With ambiguous generic: **Loosebeare** (*hlōse* ‘pigsty’) + either *-beorg* or *-bearn* as generic.

dūn ‘low hill (or upland expanse)’

Overall: 13 holdings (4.3%) referring to 9 places (3.5%) and 7 identifiers (3.3%).

As a simplex name: **Down** St Mary.
As generic with personal name: **Hillersdon** (**Hildhere*); **Ingsdon** [2] (**Aegenoc*); ‘**Vlwardesdone**’ (*Wulfweard*).
With descriptive terms: **Lowton** (*hleow* ‘sunny, sheltered’); **Raddon** [4] (*read* ‘red’).
With other qualifiers: **Farringdon** [2] (*fearn* ‘fern’); **Neadon** (*benipan* ‘beneath’).

other ‘hill’ term as generic

Overall: 12 holdings referring to 10 places and 10 identifiers, including 1 holding [Pinhoe] for which the place-name is ambiguous but certainly refers to a hill; in addition, there is 1 holding [Aunk] that may have a pre-English hill-name.

crug ‘abrupt hill’	Crooke Burnell (PrC; as simplex).
hals ‘neck’	Halse (as simplex).
hēafod ‘head, end’	Mamhead [2] (hill-name <Brit * <i>mamm</i> ‘breast’).
hlinc ‘bank, terrace’	Greenslinch (p.n <i>Grēne</i>).
hrycg ‘ridge’	Oldridge (p.n <i>Wealda</i>).
hyll ‘hill’	Poughill [2] (<i>pohha</i> ‘pouch’); Warmhill (<i>wearm</i> ‘warm’).
torr ‘rocky peak, hill’	Beetor (<i>byge</i> ‘curved’); Houndtor (p.n <i>Hunda</i> or <i>hund</i> ‘hound’).

With ambiguous elements: **Aunk:** possibly an RC hill-name ≈ Gaulish *ancos* ‘hook’.
Pinhoe: perhaps PrC hill-name **pen(n)* ‘head, top, end’ + OE *hōh* ‘heel-shaped hill-spur’, or diminutive **pennuc*, **pennoc* <PrC **pen(n)*.

2f: Woods and clearings.

Overall: 45 holdings (14.8%) referring to 38 places (14.8%) and 34 identifiers (15.9%); in addition, there are 2 holdings for which the generic is uncertain, referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

bearu ‘small wood’

Overall: 10 holdings (3.3%) referring to 7 places (2.7%) and 5 identifiers (2.3%); in addition, there is 1 holding for which the generic is uncertain.

As generic with personal name: **Eggbeer** (*Ecga*); **Kentisbeare** [2] (**Centel*).
With references to birds: **Larkbeare** [2] (*lāwerce* ‘lark’); **Rockbeare** [4] (*brōc* ‘rook’).

With reference to topography?: **Woodbeer** (*widu* ‘wood’).

With ambiguous generic: **Loosebeare** (*hlōse* ‘pigsty’) + either *-beorg* or *-bearu* as generic.

lēah ‘wood, clearing’ (and also with later sense ‘pasture, meadow’)

Overall: 25 holdings (8.2%) referring to 21 places (8.2%) and 19 identifiers (8.9%); in addition, there is 1 holding for which the generic is uncertain.

As a simplex name: 1 holding.

Leigh, Doddiscombs-.

As generic with personal name: 6 holdings referring to 5 places and 5 identifiers.

Budleigh, East (*Budda*); **Cadeleigh** [2] (*Cada*); **Gidleigh** (**Gyddā*); **Hittisleigh** (**Hyttin*); **Lowley** (*Leofa*).

With descriptive terms: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Bowley (*boga* ‘curved’); **Butterleigh** (*butere* ‘butter’ ≈ ‘good pasture’).

With topographical feature as qualifier: 1 holding.

Chitterley (**ceodor* ‘bag-shaped hollow’).

With other qualifiers: 9 holdings referring to 7 places and 6 identifiers.

Creely (*crāwe* ‘crow’); **Hatherleigh** (*hagu-porn* ‘hawthorn’); **Shapley** [5] (*scēap* ‘sheep’); **Throwleigh** (*prūh* ‘conduit’); **Woolley** (*wulf* ‘wolf’).

With ambiguous qualifiers: 6 holdings referring to 5 places and 4 identifiers.

Bickleigh: probably **bica* ‘point’ or p.n *Bic(c)a*, but perhaps **bicca* ‘woodpecker’ or **bic* ‘bees’.
‘Eveleigh’: either p.n *Ifa* or *ifig* ‘ivy’.

Stockleigh English; **Stockleigh** Pomeroy; **Stockleigh** [2]: either *stocc* ‘tree-trunks, heavy timber’ or *stoc* ‘outlying farmstead, place’.

With ambiguous generic: 1 holding.

‘Stapeliē (*stapol* ‘post’) [unless DB form is corrupt, for which case generic is *hyll*]

tree-name, or other ‘wood’ term as generic

Overall: 10 holdings referring to 10 places and 10 identifiers.

āc ‘oak’	Hennock (<i>dat hēan</i> ‘high, tall’).
æsc ‘ash’	‘Ash’ (as simplex); Bradninch (<i>dat brādan</i> ‘broad’).
alor ‘alder’	Aller [2] (as simplex).
apuldor ‘appletree’	Appledore (as simplex).
bēam ‘tree, trunk’	Holbeam (<i>hol</i> ‘hollow’).
*cēd (PrC) ‘wood’	Morchard Bishop (PrC <i>*mor</i> ‘big’).
trēow ‘tree’	Heavitree (p.n <i>Hefa</i>); Plymtree (<i>*plym</i> ‘plum’).

2g: Ploughland, open land and pasture.

Overall: 5 holdings (1.6%) referring to 5 places (1.9%) and 5 identifiers (2.3%); in addition, there is 1 holding for which the generic is uncertain.

gærstūn ‘paddock’	‘Brungarstone’ (<i>brun</i> ‘brown’).
land ‘land’	Buckland (<i>bōc</i> ‘charter’); Medland (<i>middel</i> ‘middle’); ‘Tawland’ (PrC r-n <i>*Taw</i>); Willand (<i>wilde</i> ‘waste’).

With ambiguous elements: **Trusham:** perhaps PrC **drīs* + **ma* ‘place of thorns’, with *ma(y)* ‘open land, plain, place’ as generic; but PrC *treff* + **isam* ‘the lowest farmstead’ or OE **trūs(s)um* ‘(place) overgrown with brushwood’ are also possible.

2h: Earthworks, stones and boundaries.

Overall: 17 holdings (5.6%) referring to 14 places (5.4%) and 13 identifiers (6.1%).

burh ‘earthwork, fortified place’

Overall: 9 holdings (2.7%) referring to 8 places (2.8%) and 7 identifiers (3%).

<i>As simplex name:</i>	Bury Barton.
<i>As generic with personal name:</i>	Cadbury (<i>Cada</i>); Yedbury (<i>Eadda</i> or <i>Æddi</i>).
<i>With river-name:</i>	Sidbury (OE r-n <i>Sid</i>).
<i>With descriptive term:</i>	Hembury , Broad-; Hembury , Pay- [2] (all have <i>hēah</i> ‘high’).
<i>With other qualifiers:</i>	Thornbury (<i>þorn</i> ‘thorn’); Woodbury (<i>wudu</i> ‘wood’)

stān ‘stone’

Overall: 6 holdings (2%) referring to 4 places (1.6%) and 4 identifiers (2%).

<i>As generic with personal name:</i>	‘Brightston’ (p.n <i>Beorhtric</i>).
<i>With descriptive term:</i>	Langstone (<i>lang</i> ‘long’, i.e. ‘menhir’); Shilstone (<i>scylf</i> ‘shelf’, i.e. ‘cromlech’); Whitestone [3] (<i>hwit</i> ‘white’).

other ‘earthwork’ term as generic

Overall: 2 holdings referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

*dīn (PrC) ‘fort’	Dunchideock (PrC <i>*cēdiog</i> ‘wooded’).
landscearu ‘boundary’	‘Landeshers’ (as simplex).

3: Pre-English place-names

Overall: 64 holdings (21.0%) referring to 55 places (21.4%) and 19 identifiers (8.9%); of which 39 (12.8%) holdings have pre-English names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 35 places (13.6%) and 14 identifiers (6.5%). In addition, there are 10 holdings for which the presence of a pre-English place-name or river-name is uncertain, referring to 8 places and 8 identifiers; of which 6 holdings have pre-English names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 5 places and 5 identifiers.

If all these certain, probable and possible pre-English place-names are included, then there is a total of 74 holdings (24.2%) referring to 63 places (24.5%) and 27 identifiers (12.6%); of which 43 holdings have pre-English names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 39 places and 18 identifiers.

pre-English place-names not derived from river-names

Overall: 9 holdings (3%) referring to 7 places (2.7%) and 5 identifiers (2.3%); of which 3 holdings have pre-English names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers. In addition, there are 5 holdings for which the presence of a pre-English place-name

is uncertain, referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers; of which 4 holdings have pre-English names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers.

Pre-English name uncompounded with OE elements: 3 holdings referring to 3 places and 3 identifiers.

Crooke Burnell (PrC *crug*); **Dunchideock** (PrC **dīn* + **cēdiōg*); **Morchard** Bishop (PrC **mor* + **cēd*).

Pre-English name compounded with OE elements: 6 holdings referring to 4 places and 2 identifiers.

Brampford [3] (PrC **Brent* + OE *ford*); **Branfortune** (~ + OE *tūn*); **Mamhead** [2] (Brit **Mamm* + OE *hēafod*).

With uncertain derivations, but possibly pre-English: 5 holdings referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers.

Uncompounded: **Aunk:** probably RC hill-name ≈ Gaulish *ancos*.

Trusham: perhaps PrC *treff* + **isam*, or PrC **drīs* + **mā*, or OE **trūs(s)um*.

Poltimore [2]: probably OE **pyltan* or OE p.n **Pulta* + *mōr*, but possibly Brit *pull* + *tīy* + *mor*.

Compounded: **Pinhoe:** perhaps PrC **pen(n)* + OE *hōh*; or PrC or OE **pennuc*, **pennoc* < PrC **pen(n)*; but unlikely to be OE *pinn* + OE *hōh*.

pre-English place-names derived from river-names

Overall: 55 holdings (18.0%) referring to 48 places (18.7%) and 14 identifiers (6.5%); of which 36 holdings have pre-English names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 32 places and 11 identifiers. In addition, there are 5 holdings for which the presence of a pre-English river-name is uncertain, referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers; of which 2 holdings have names that are uncompounded with OE elements, referring to 2 places and 2 identifiers.

Bovey: 3 holdings referring to 3 places; identifier is Ant r-n (?**Boiō*) > OE **Bofi*.

As simplex: **Bovey** Tracy; **Bovey**, North.

With OE qualifier: **Down Bovey** (*ādūn* 'down').

Clyst: 10 holdings referring to 9 places; identifier is Brit r-n **Klūst* > OE *Clist*.

As simplex: **Clyst**; **Clyst**, Ash-; **Clyst**, Bishops-; **Clyst** Gerred; **Clyst** Hydon; **Clyst** St Lawrence; **Clyst** William; **Clyst**, West.

With OE generic: **Chisewic** (*wīc*); **Clistone** (*tūn*).

Creedy: 4 holdings referring to 3 places; identifier is PrC r-n **Cridī* or **Cridī* > OE *Cridie*.

As simplex: **Creedy**; **Creedy**, Lower [2].

With OE generic: **Crediton** (*tūn*).

Culm: 5 holdings referring to 4 places; identifier is PrC r-n **Colum* > OE *Cul(u)m*.

As simplex: **Columbjohn**; **Culm**; 'Culm, Monk'; **Culm** Vale.

With OE generic: **Cullompton** (*tūn*).

Dart: 1 holding; identifier is Ant or Brit r-n *Deruentio* > OE *Derte*.

As simplex: **Dart** Cottages.

Dawlish: 1 holding; identifier is Brit *dubo* + **glassio* > PrC r-n > OE *Doflisc*.

As simplex: **Dawlish**.

Exe: 6 holdings referring to 5 places; identifier is Ant r-n *Isca* > OE *Esc*.

With OE qualifier: **Netherexe** (*neodera* 'lower down'); **Up Exe** (*uþp* 'higher up').

With OE generic: **Exeter** (*ceaster*); **Exminster** [2] (*mynster*); **Exwick** (*wīc*).

Kenn: 2 holdings referring to 2 places; identifier is pre-English r-n (< Brit **canto*?) > OE *Chen(t)*.

As simplex: **Kenn**.

With OE generic: **Kenton** (*tūn*).

Leonard: 2 holdings referring to 1 place; identifier is RC r-n etymology uncertain) >OE *Linor*.

As simplex: **Leonard** [2].

Nymet: 9 holdings referring to 7 places; identifier is Brit **nemeto* >PrC **Nemed*, **Nimed* >OE *Nymed*.

As simplex: **Nymet** [6]; **Nymet**, Broad-; **Nymet** Rowland; **Nymet** Tracey.

Taw: 2 holdings referring to 2 places; identifier is (Ant r-n **Tavus* >PrC **Taw* >OE *Tāw*.

With OE generic: ‘**Tawland**’ (*land*); **Tawton**, South (*tūn*).

Teign: 8 holdings referring to 8 places; identifier is Brit r-n **Tagna* >PrC **Tegn* >OE *Tegn*.

As simplex: **Teign**, Canon-; **Teignharvey**; **Teign**, George; **Teign**grace.

With OE generic: **Teigncombe** (*cumb*); **Teignton**, Bishops- (*tūn*); **Teignton**, Drews- (*tūn*); **Teignton**, Kings- (*tūn*).

Vine: 1 holding; identifier is PrC r-n (*≈ W ffyn*) >OE *Fine*.

With OE generic: **Feniton** (*tūn*).

Whimple: 1 holding; identifier is PrC stream-name (<**wīn* + **pull*).

As simplex: **Whimple**.

With uncertain derivations, but river-name possible: 5 holdings referring to 4 places and 4 identifiers.

Uncompounded: **Ide:** perhaps a pre-English r-n (as simplex), but derivation unclear.

Wonford: probably OE *wynn* + *ford*; but a PrC r-n (<**wīn* + **frud*) (as simplex) is just possible.

Compounded: **Lympstone:** either OE p.n *Leofwine* or Brit r-n >OE *Lymen* (with OE *tūn* as generic).

Ponsford [2]: either OE p.n *Pant* or PrC r-n **Pant* >OE *Pante* (with OE *ford* as generic).

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